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VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE

JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE

STATES-GENERAL.

Tranſlated from the original Dutch,

By SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole compriſing a full and accurate Account of all the preſent and late Poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING

A CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE FROM SURAT TO BATAVIA, THE COAST OF MALABAR, AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE; IN THE YEARS 1775-1778.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER AMBOYNA, SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774-1778.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Manner of Life of the Perſees.—Their Chiefs.—Their Religion.—The holy Fire.—Their Reverence for Fire; and for Water.—No Diſturbance on Account of Religion among the Moors, the Gentoos, and the Perſees.—Diſeaſes prevalent at SURAT.

THE Perſees live temperately; contrary, however, to the cuſtom of the Gentoos, they eat all kinds of fleſh meat, except that of oxen, and of hares, in order not to give offence to that nation; but it muſt always be killed and prepared by their own people.

Two of them, one of whom, MANTCHERGI by name, is the broker of the Dutch,

and the other of the Engliſh Company, are the chiefs of the Perſees who dwell in and about *Surat*; they are, at the ſame time, their chief eccleſiaſtics, or prieſts; they likewiſe ſettle the diſputes that ariſe among them, and the parties muſt ſubmit to their deciſions: murder, homicide, and other crimes amongſt them, which diſturb the public tranquillity, are puniſhed by the nabob, or governor of the city; he, however, acts very circumſpectly in ſuch caſes, becauſe he ſtands more in awe of the Perſees than of the Moors, or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in ſome meaſure, independent: ſuch heavy crimes, I was told, are very ſeldom heard of among them; and beſides, as they all live in ſeparate wards, in which they do not allow any ſtrangers to reſide, many things may remain hidden among them, which would ſoon be publicly known, if they lived more diſperſed.

The religion of the ancient Perſians, inſtituted by ZOROASTER, and which part of that nation have retained to the preſent day, is too well known for me to ſay much about; beſides which, in order to form a true idea

of

of the religion of a nation, their language ſhould be perfectly underſtood, eſpecially when it is enveloped in abſtruſe metaphyſical, or allegorical, propoſitions; for the beſt interpreter is not of any uſe in this point, much leſs thoſe who are met with here, and who can ſcarcely tranſlate the occurrences of daily converſation from one language into another.

Hence I conclude that we ſhall never be able, in Europe, to obtain a true idea of the various religions of the nations of Aſia, that of Mahomet excepted, before ſome really learned man, well verſed in religious and metaphyſical diſquiſitions, takes the trouble of learning their language, eſpecially that of their ſaints, which is excluſively appropriated to the ſervices of their religion.

I ſhall, however, ſay ſomething, in a few words, of the religion of the Perſees at *Surat*.

In the firſt place, they allege that they poſſeſs a genuine copy of the inſtitutes of ZOROASTER.

They likewiſe pretend that the holy fire which they brought with them at the time of their flight from *Perſia*, has remained

burning to the preſent day, without being extinguiſhed, in their largeſt and principal temple, which ſtands near the Portugueſe city of *Daman*. The allegations, in this reſpect, of the prieſts, who, like thoſe of other ſimilar religions, play their parts in a maſterly manner, are blindly and implicitly believed by the unenlightened many. They moreover take care that this holy fire be only expoſed once a year to the profane eyes of the vulgar; this is a feſtival which takes place in the month of October, and marks the commencement of their year, and they eat, drink, and make merry on the occaſion.

Beſides this feſtival, they have one every month, which is excluſively a religious one, and on which they offer up ſolemn ſupplications to the divinity.

Every Perſee likewiſe offers up a prayer every morning, and every evening: in the morning he turns towards the riſing ſun, and in the evening to the moon, if ſhe be viſible.

The element of water is equally an object of their reverence; yet only in ſo far as they believe that the ſun, fire, and water, are the pureſt repreſentations of the god-

head,

head, to whom they ſay, that they ſolely pay adoration.

Their reverence for fire is carried ſo far, that they will not extinguiſh it on any account; they will not even put out a candle or lamp.

When a fire takes place in the town, they do not endeavour to quench it with water, but try to ſtop the progreſs of the flames by pulling down the houſes and buildings round where they rage, till the fire goes out by not meeting wherewithal to conſume.

They have ſix or ſeven houſes appropriated to their religion, or churches, as well within, as out of the town, in which a prayer, ſermon, or exhortation, is every day pronounced by their prieſts; and in which fire is kept conſtantly burning, the flames of which are fed by the pureſt and moſt coſtly wood that can be procured; this may never be blown upon by the breaths of any impure creature, but it is kept alive by being fanned with a fan. None but a Perſee may enter one of theſe buildings.

In contradiſtinction to moſt other religions, they do not endeavour, or deſire, to make any proſelytes.

Theſe three diſtinct nations, the Moors, the Gentoos, and the Perſees, whoſe religions are widely different from each other, exerciſe the greateſt toleration and indulgence, in this reſpect, towards one another; no one is moleſted on account of his religion; they may be ſeen together in, and near, the river, offering up their prayers, each to that being whom he adores, without any marks of deriſion or contempt being ſhewn by any one: this even goes ſo far, that the days which one perſuaſion look upon as holy, are alſo looked upon with a degree of veneration by the others: when the holy fire of the Perſees is exhibited to the people, no Gentoo will either approach, or touch, fire, no more than the Perſees themſelves.

The principal diſorders to which the inhabitants of theſe countries are ſubject, are burning fevers, and the dyſentery.

The burning heats, which prevail here from the month of June till Auguſt and September, are the cauſe, it is ſaid, of the former, and the flatulency of the greateſt part of the uſual food of the inhabitants of the latter; which I leave to the determination

tion of thoſe who are better acquainted with pathology than myſelf.

Few of the natives of the country attain to very advanced age. The emperor AURENGZEBE, however, lived, according to VALENTYN, one hundred and three years.

CHAPTER II.

Coins current at SURAT.—*Almonds uſed as the loweſt Medium of Exchange.—Ancient Grecian and Roman Coins met with here.—Weights.—Meaſures.—Lime and Brick-kilns.*

THE coins that are current here, are of gold, ſilver, and copper.

The coin of gold of the country is the *mohur*, which is gold of twenty-three carat; it goes here for fifteen ſilver rupees; though its value is not conſtantly the ſame, but is ſettled according as gold is at a high, or at a low price. All foreign gold coins are only taken according to their weight and intrinſic value.

Ducats are likewiſe met with here, but no one is obliged to receive them in payment contrary to his inclination; they are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; the Venetian ducats, which are worth from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{5}{16}$ rupees, or *f.*6. 7 to 8 ſtivers; all other European ducats, to which they give the appellation of

images,

images, and which are current at from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{3}{16}$ rupees, or *f.*6. 3 to 5 ſtivers; and the third, or laſt, ſort, thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, or *Stambouli*, among which are comprehended all other Turkiſh, Arabian, and Perſian ducats, and which go at from $3\frac{7}{8}$ to $3\frac{11}{16}$ rupees, or *f.*5. 16 to 18 ſtivers. The value of theſe coins is lowered or enhanced in proportion as more or leſs gold is imported.

The ſilver rupee is the ſtandard coin of the country, the only one which is ſtruck in the empire of Hindoſtan, and is current all over it; its real value in Dutch money is ſcarcely four-and-twenty ſtivers, but here, among the Europeans, it is calculated at thirty ſtivers *: every rupee contains ſixteen *annas*; but the calculation by *annas* is not ſo common here as in *Bengal*; the fractions of rupees are generally ſettled by *pice*, which is the only copper coin here, and of which more or leſs go to a rupee, in proportion as copper is at a low, or at a high price; when

* Mr. STAVORINUS here gives the aſſay, and weight of the rupee, according to the Dutch denominations; the reader is referred on this ſubject to the note ſubjoined to page 460 of the firſt volume, where the aſſay, real weight, ſtandard weight, and intrinſic value of the rupee, is given from Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Table. *T.*

I was

I was at *Surat*, ſixty-four *pice*, were given for a rupee: it is ſaid that there are alſo leaden *pice*, but I ſaw none of them.

In the ſame way as cowries are made uſe of in *Bengal*, as the loweſt medium of exchange, almonds, which are called *badams*, are employed for that purpoſe here; the comparative value whereof, is, as may eaſily be conceived, more liable to variation, than any other repreſentative medium*.

No other money is current here, and all foreign coins are taken according to their weight and aſſay; but the Mexican dollars, or pieces of eight, known among the natives by the appellation of *raal lakria*, muſt, if weight, contain ſeventy-three *waals*: their value is uncertain, running from *f.*318 to *f.*324 per hundred†, and ſometimes, but ſeldom, a little higher.

* When OVINGTON was at *Surat*, about ſixty bitter almonds was the current rate of a *pice*. THEVENOT ſays ſixty-eight; he adds, that the almonds that paſs for money at *Surat*, come from *Perſia*, and are the fruit of a ſhrub that grows on the rocks. *T.*

† Or about 5*s.* 9*d.* to about 5*s.* 11*d.* per dollar. According to RICARD, pieces of eight go at *Surat*, viz.

100 Mexican dollars for 217½ rupees.
100 Peruvian ditto for 218 ditto.
100 New Spaniſh dollars for 214 ditto. *T.*

What

What are called imperial dollars, are alſo brought hither, to a conſiderable amount, from *Mocha* and *Jedda*: they are either bought up by the Europeans at the rate of two rupees, or three gilders, apiece, or are ſent to the mint, in order to be refined and coined into rupees.

Ancient Grecian and Roman copper coins are likewiſe ſometimes met with here, ſome of which I have got in my poſſeſſion. They have probably been diſperſed by the wars of thoſe nations in *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Egypt*, and the ſurrounding countries, and brought hither, among other coins, by the Armenian, Perſian, and Arabian merchants.

The weights are very various here, and are regulated according to the nature of the commodities to be weighed.

The *maund* is here, as in *Bengal*, the general ſtandard weight, by which moſt kinds of goods are reckoned; but it is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ſorts, as is the *ſeer*; the contents of the ſeveral ſpecies of weights are, viz.

The *ſeer kalſah*, or ſingle *ſeer*, $\frac{82}{84}$ pound Amſterdam.

The *ſeer pakka*, which is the double of the former, $1\frac{82}{84}$ ditto.

The

The *maund kalſah* contains forty ſingle *ſeer*, or $34\frac{1}{2}$ pounds: this is uſed for weighing alum, areca, tortoiſeſhell, elephants' teeth, grain, indigo, copper, lead, redlead, braſs, quickſilver, ſandalwood, ſalt, tin, ſteel, vermillion, iron, &c.

A *maund* of $40\frac{1}{4}$ ſingle *ſeer*, or $34\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ pounds, is uſed for weighing of ſaffron.

A *maund* of 41 *ſeer*, or $35\frac{2}{5}$ pounds, for raw ſugar.

A *maund* of 42 *ſeer*, or $36\frac{2}{4}$ pounds, for lamp-oil, almonds, flower of piſtachio, catchoo, camphor, cinnamon, cardamom, cotton, cotton-yarn, coffee, cumminſeed, corianderſeed, dried ginger, mace, filberds, cloves, nutmegs, black piſtachio-nuts, ſaltpetre, ſapanwood, tea, wax, ſoap, &c.

A *maund* of $43\frac{1}{4}$ *ſeer*, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, for ſugarcandy.

A *maund* of 44 *ſeer*, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, for gum arabic, aſſa fœtida, Bengal pepper, cowries, galls, gumlack, roſin, cubebs, brimſtone, &c.

A *candil* is twenty *maund kalſah*, or ten *maund pakka*; but theſe are Bengal *maunds*, which contain eighty ſingle, or forty double *ſeer*; thus a *candil* is 696 pounds Amſterdam weight:

weight: it is by this weight that capoc is ſold.

A *harrah* is ſeven *maund kalſah*, or 241½ pounds.

Gold and ſilver are calculated in the following proportions:

A *ſeer kalſah* is thirty-five *tola*;

A *tola* is thirty-two *waal*, or twelve *maſſa*;

A *maſſa* is 2⅔ *waal*, or eight *retti*;

A *retti* is four *nilly*.

Two and a half *tola* are equal to one Dutch ounce; a *ſeer kalſah* is therefore fourteen ounces; a *waal* is eight *aas*; a *maſſa* 21⅓ *aas*; a *retti* 2⅔ *aas*; and a *nilly* ⅔ *aas* *.

THEVENOT ſays that a *tola* makes fifty-ſix carats.

Pearls are weighed by *fangis*, one of which is twenty-four *retti*, or 20⅔ carats, each *retti* being $\frac{11}{240}$ carat.

A *fangi* is alſo 330 *chouw*;

A *chouw* is $\frac{204}{1771}$ of a grain;

A *chouw* is likewiſe ſixteen *annas*;

And an *anna* is $\frac{51}{1765}$ of a grain.

Diamonds are taken by *retti*; one hun-

* An Engliſh ounce troy is 82½ *waal*, or *vales*. RICARD. *T.*

dred

dred *retti* is equal to eighty-five carats, a *retti* being $\frac{17}{20}$ of a carat, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ grain.

A *retti* is likewiſe twenty *waſſa*;

And a *waſſa* is $\frac{21}{400}$ of a grain.

The *yard*, which, though an Engliſh meaſure, is familiarly known to the natives by the ſame name, is one *ges* and eight *teſſoe*, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ *ges*, a *ges* being twenty-four *teſſoe*.

The ſtandard *ges* of *Surat* is $1\frac{1}{15}$ Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Surat*, or that which is uſed upon the bazars, and in the ſhops, is $1\frac{3}{4}$ Dutch ell.

The ſtandard *ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{24}{25}$ of a Dutch ell.

The *bazar ges* of *Baroche* is $\frac{33}{35}$ of a Dutch ell.

The *Baroche* ſtandard *ges* is exactly as much ſhorter than a Dutch ell, as the *Surat* ſtandard *ges* is longer; which is equally the caſe with the *bazar ges* of both places.

Diſtances are reckoned by *coſs*, each of which is full half of a Dutch mile.

The above is taken from a particular report made on the ſubject by Meſſieurs ZIVEERS DE LANDES and DAVID KELLY, ſpecially appointed to form ſuch a ſtatement by

by the direction of *Surat*, by order from the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, in the year 1758.

The burning of lime, and making of bricks, though a great nuiſance, is of little importance or value to the city. Theſe trades are carried on in the ſuburbs; and in calm weather, the methods obſerved in them occaſion a moſt offenſive ſmell, and impregnate the air with very noiſome vapours. A certain ſort of coralline, ſtony earth, is made uſe of for the former; this they throw together in a heap, mix it, and cover it with cowdung, and ſet the whole on fire, and it ſometimes continues burning for a fortnight. The material of which they make bricks is a clayey earth, which they mould at the ſpots where it is dug, ſet them in heaps, and burn them with cowdung. The manipulation of both articles is, however, performed in a ſlovenly and awkward manner.

CHAPTER III.

Carts.—Hackeries.— Palankeens.— Ships and Ship-building.—Deſcription of the old or holy Ship.—It was deſtroyed in 1777.—Mode of building Ships at SURAT.— *Durability of their Veſſels.—Great Expence of their Conſtruction.*

THE carriages which are made uſe of to convey goods about the town, and up the country, are carts of a ſimple conſtruction, running upon two wheels, upon which, when the carts are loaden, they are nearly upon a poiſe; they are drawn by one or two oxen, which are here, in general, of a pretty large ſize.

The carriages, or *hackeries*, which the natives uſe to ride about in, go likewiſe upon two wheels. The body of the carriage is placed in the middle upon the axletree; it is juſt large enough for two people to ſit in it with their legs croſſed under them; it has a circular covering over it, generally of white [illegible] open at the ſides when men ride in them,

them, but cloſed all round when women are the paſſengers. The belly and legs of the oxen (for horſes are only uſed for the ſaddle) are frequently painted of a light roſe-colour, and the horns are gilt either with gold or ſilver; they have little bells hung round the neck, by which the foot-paſſengers can hear them when they approach: the conductor ſits, as the coachmen do with us, on a ſeat before the body of the carriage; he guides the oxen by a ſingle rein on each ſide, which paſſes through the cartilage of the noſe, and he urges them on, when neceſſary, by a ſtick, with which he goads or puſhes them.

People of high rank, or of great wealth, are carried about in palankeens, or litters, as I have before mentioned in my obſervations upon *Bengal*.

As *Surat* is a large and ancient place of trade, and a ſeaport of conſiderable importance, there is no want of ſhips and veſſels of various kinds and ſizes, which are either built here, or are brought hither completely finiſhed, for ſale or charter.

The ſhips which are built here, coſt, it is true, very dear, but they are able to navi-

gate the ſeas for a hundred years together. There was a ſhip here in exiſtence, which performed a voyage to *Mocha* and back in the year 1770, being freighted on account of Mr. SLUISKENS, the ſecond of the Dutch factory at *Surat*, of which the time when it was built is not known; and only that, in a letter, written by Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, the then director of *Surat*, to the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1702, it is called *the old ſhip*, although from that time, till the year 1770, it performed an annual voyage to the Red-ſea.

This ſhip was always known by the appellation of the *holy ſhip*, becauſe the pilgrims from India, going to, or returning from, *Mecca*, always took their paſſage on board of her; and, on the ſame account, that ſhip had a peculiar privilege at *Mocha* and *Jedda*, of taking on board a certain number of cheſts and boxes, free of duty; which privilege was the more valuable to the owners, as the duties exacted at thoſe places are exceſſively high.

When I was at *Surat* on my firſt voyage, this ſhip was a-ground, about half a Dutch mile below the city, and ſo near falling to pieces,

pieces, that I did not think the owners would be at the charge of repairing her again; in effect, when I was at *Surat*, in the year 1777, on my ſecond voyage thither, ſhe was, as I have before mentioned, entirely deſtroyed by the laſt violent afflux of the river.

I computed it to be one hundred and thirty, or thirty-five, feet from ſtem to ſtern. It was built like a frigate, with three maſts, and cut away full as ſharp at the bow as our ſhips. The ſtern, as tradition ſays, had been that of an Engliſh ſhip, which was loſt in this river; it has at leaſt much reſemblance to the repreſentation of the ſhips of the laſt century. It had two decks, likewiſe a quarter-deck, and forecaſtle; the gunroom was very large; the height between the decks was ſcarcely five feet; the cabin was adorned within with a great deal of carving, and not the leaſt piece of wood was left without ſome foliage or imagery. Upon the quarter-deck were, as in our ſhips, little huts or cabins, and before them a fixed awning, ſuch as we call a *waſelkraam*; the catheads were exceſſive heavy pieces of timber, twice as large as thoſe of a ſhip of one hundred and fifty feet. The cables run over the top at

the bow, in a deep notch, as our towlines are done. The bowſprit was not fixed upon the ſtem, but at the right ſide of it.

This ſhip belonged to a Turkiſh merchant called *Tjillebe*, who had ſeveral other ſhips. He is one of the principal merchants of the city, and greatly reſpected by the nabob.

They do not build their ſhips in the ſame manner as the Europeans; moſt of the timbers are fitted in after the planks have been put together. There was one built while I was at *Surat*, in what is called the Engliſh yard; it appeared to me to have about one hundred feet length of keel: it ſtood in a kind of graving-dock; if a large excavation, cloſed towards the river by a dam, without a ſtone facing, or any thing that reſembled it, may deſerve that appellation *.

They do not put the planks together as we do, with flat edges towards each other, but rabbet them; and they make the parts fit into each other with the greateſt exactneſs,

* They do not thus launch their ſhips, as we do, from ſlips; but, when ſufficiently finiſhed for floating, they dig through from the water to the ſort of docks mentioned above, which they call cradles, where the ſhips are, as it were, dropped into the ſtream that is brought up to them. *T.*

beſtowing

beſtowing much time and attention upon this operation; for this purpoſe, they ſmear the edges of the planks, which are ſet up, with red lead, and thoſe which are intended to be be placed next, are put upon them, and preſſed down, in order to be able to diſcern the inequalities, which are marked by the red lead, and afterwards taken away: they repeat this till the whole fits exactly; they then rub both edges with a ſort of glue, which becomes, by age, as hard as iron, and they cover it with a thin layer of capoc, after which they unite the planks ſo firmly and cloſely with pegs, that the ſeam is ſcarcely viſible, and the whole ſeems to form one entire piece of timber.

They fit the timbers and beams in the ſame way to the planks; ſo that a piece of wood is ſometimes put in and taken out more than ten times before it is fixed for good and all *.

Inſtead of bolts, they make uſe of pieces of iron, forged like ſpikes, the point of which

* The knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, eſpecially where particular care is taken of the conſtruction, and no expence ſpared. *T.*

is driven through, clenched on the inſide, and again driven into the wood. They make the iron which they employ for this purpoſe very tough and flexible *.

The tedioufneſs of their method, together with the dearneſs of timber they employ, which muſt be brought hither from diſtant places, make ſhip-building very dear here, but, at the ſame time, their veſſels are very laſting, and can go to ſea for many years,

* They have alſo a peculiar way of preſerving their ſhips' bottoms, by occaſionally rubbing into them an oil which they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and it ſerves greatly to nouriſh and keep them from decay. The maſting generally uſed in the country-ſhips, are poboon-maſts, chiefly from the Malabar coaſt; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing, muſt come from Europe; their coir-ropes being, for either running or ſtanding rigging, more harſh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. Coir-cables, however, are very ſerviceable, and have their excellencies, as we have before ſeen, in oppoſition to the European cables; they laſt much the longer in ſalt water, freſh being apt to rot them. Their anchors are moſtly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. With ſails, they are very well ſuppplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a ſailcloth called *dungaree*, which, though not ſo ſtrong or laſting as canvas, Hollands duck, or vitry, is, whilſt in uſe, more pliant, and leſs apt to ſplit than they are. For pitch, they have the gum of a tree called *dammer*, which is not at all inferior to the other. *T*,

before

before any repairs of the hull are at all wanted. Caulking of the ſeams, as may eaſily be conceived, does not come in queſtion here; for if they once give way, the whole bottom is of very little value.

The ſhip that I ſaw building, was contracted for ſeventy-five thouſand rupees, or *f.*112.500 — Dutch, and was intended to load one thouſand nine hundred canaſſers of ſugar, or one hundred and ninety laſts.

CHAPTER IV.

Great Decline in the Power of the Mogul Emperors.— Cauſes thereof.—Reflexions on the Riſe and Downfall of Empires.--Superſtition a firm Support of arbitrary Power, inſtanced in the Empires of PERU — PERSIA — *The* OTTOMAN PORTE. — *Conqueſts greatly contribute to cement the Power of a State.— Inſtances from the Hiſtory of* CARTHAGE —ROME --*The Mogul Empire under and after* AURENGZEBE. —*Encroachments of the Engliſh in* HINDOSTAN.— *Means by which they became Maſters of* SURAT.--*Account of the whole Tranſaction from* CAMBRIDGE'S *War in India.—Capture of* SURAT *by the Engliſh Forces under Captain* MAITLAND, *in* 1759.— *Agreement between* ATCHUND *and the Engliſh.— They obtain Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle and Tanka.— Confirmed therein by the Mogul.—Dutch Account of the Affair. — Contraſt between* FARISCHAN *and the Engliſh Company.*

I HAVE before already made ſome mention, in a curſory manner, of the great decay which the power of the Mogul Emperors has undergone; their ſovereign authority is now

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ſo much circumſcribed, that they are not even maſters over their own perſons.

The cauſes hereof are no other than ſuch as are found to prevail in almoſt all deſpotic ſtates.

The ſovereign, ſeated upon his throne in the interior of his empire, cannot himſelf pay any attention to the provinces that are diſtant from the ſeat of government; but is obliged to conſide the adminiſtration of them to lieutenants, whoſe oppreſſive diſpoſition far exceeds that of the monarch himſelf; while, though they are not entirely diveſted of awe for the throne, yet, by forming confederacies with the neighbouring princes, or amongſt themſelves, they become, in their turn, objects of apprehenſion to the ſovereign.

I could adduce many inſtances of the above from hiſtory, if they were not as generally known, as the truth of the propoſition is clear and evident.

There are three methods by which, according to my judgment, the power and dignity of large and extenſive empires, can be, and have been, cemented and maintained.

Firſt, by means of the laws, the execution of which belongs excluſively to the monarch,

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to which he, as well as his lieutenants, are, at the ſame time, ſubject, and whereby both he and they are kept within bounds, and prevented from oppreſſing the lower ranks, ſo that they may not have any cauſe or inducement to oppoſe the juſt authority of the prince, to riſe in rebellion againſt him, or put themſelves under the protection of a foreign power."

Next, by means of ſuperſtition, by which ſubjects attached by religious prejudice to the family of their princes, on account of the ſupernatural origin to which they may lay claim, believe that their whole welfare depends upon the conſervation of that race. The monarch is hereby enabled to rule with the moſt abſolute ſway, as long as this belief is predominant, without having ever any cauſe to fear that any one will be fool-hardy enough to oppoſe his will. We have an example of this in the ancient Peruvians, who were moſt firmly perſuaded that their kings were the children of the ſun, and that they brought with them to earth an heavenly bond that the people over whom they reigned ſhould always proſper; whence many of that nation preferred to ſuffer death with their laſt king,

king, ATHA BALIPA, than live to encounter the evils threatened under another government.

In this ſame manner, too, THEVENOT informs us that the Perſians are firmly aſſured that no one can have, or has, any title to be their ſovereign, but one that is a deſcendant from one of the twelve Imams, of whom ALI was the firſt; that they, in conſequence, never look upon him but with fear and trembling, and have ſuch reſpect for him, and pay ſo blind an obedience to all his orders, that, how unjuſt ſoever his commands may be, they perform them, though againſt all law, both of God and Nature *.

Likewiſe that the Janiſſaries, in the Turkiſh empire, though in their mutinies they ſometimes depoſe and murder their ſovereigns, yet they ſo much reſpect the blood of their prince, and have ſo great a veneration for the race of the firſt OTHOMAN or OSMAN, that they never ſo much as dream of altering the ſucceſſion from that family †.

In the third place, another means of add-

* *Suite du Voyage du Levant, tom.* III. *chap.* xi. and xiii. *Voyage du Levant, tom.* I. *p* 243.

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ing ſtrength and ſecurity to empire, is that of conqueſt, by which the fear and reſpect of the ſubjects for their victorious monarch are more and more augmented, and his greatneſs and power are magnified much beyond what they really are, while his reſentment and revenge are dreaded for the ſlighteſt offence. It is by this that that ſlaviſh fear is created, which MONTESQUIEU ſuppoſes a neceſſary foundation of arbitrary power; and we find his obſervation verified both in ancient and modern hiſtory.

As long as *Carthage* waged war againſt the Romans, with equal fortune, ſhe held her conquered provinces, and Spaniſh ſubjects, in controul, notwithſtanding they were oppreſſed by numberleſs vexations, by extortions of money, and by requiſitions of men, which exhauſted the land; their bearing theſe injuries could only be aſcribed to the fear of the power, and vengeance of the Carthaginians. But no ſooner did *Carthage* ceaſe to conquer, and her power begin to decline, than they ſhook off their fears, and either choſe other maſters, or reinſtated themſelves in their original ſtate of independence.

Juſt

Juſt ſo it was, too, with *Rome* herſelf, when ſhe had no conqueſts to boaſt of out of *Italy*, and when involved in the firſt and ſecond Punic wars; eſpecially in the beginning of the latter, when fortune ſmiled upon the arms of *Carthage*, their ſurrounding allies, or rather their ſubjects, immediately diſmiſſed all apprehenſions of the reſentment of *Rome*; and when they ſaw her deprived of the CAMILLI, the QUINTII, the FABRICII, and other great and conſummate generals, who had ſo often made them feel the power of the Roman people, they ceaſed to pay her their obedience.

Afterwards, when the Roman empire had attained the ſummit of glory, and of greatneſs, and began to bow under its own unwieldy weight, when conqueſts were no more heard of, and no new nations received the Roman yoke, firſt the more remote and then the nearer nations ſhook off their allegiance to the tottering coloſſus, or were ſubdued by others hitherto unnoticed and unknown, till they gradually left to *Rome* no more than the ſhadow of what ſhe was.

Not to ſay any thing more of other monarchies, the Mogul empire, and that of Hindoſtan

Hindoſtan have undergone the ſame fate. As long as their ſovereigns were conquerors, no one dared to riſe againſt them, and if they did, they were without delay brought again to their obedience: but no ſooner did conqueſt leave the imperial banners upon the death of AURENGZEBE, than each of the conquered princes, and the lieutenants of the Mogul, no longer reſtrained by the fear of their ſovereign's vengeance, who waged no other wars than with his own relations, and who could do little without their aſſiſtance, renounced their dependence upon the court of *Dehly*, diſregarded the mandates of the Mogul, and uſurped the ſovereign authority of their reſpective diſtricts.

The journal of Mr. KETELAAR, who went as ambaſſador from our Company to the court of the great Mogul, in the years 1711 and 1712, thus only four or five years after the death of AURENGZEBE, affords ſeveral examples of the way in which the orders of the court were obeyed by the governors of the provinces: and this has at laſt brought the empire into that ſtate of debility, that it has not been able to repel a handful

handful of Europeans, nor to prevent them from penetrating into the moſt interior parts of the empire, and making themſelves maſters of the richeſt provinces.

Bengal, *Bahar*, *Orixa*, part of *Coromandel*, and *Surat*, are now almoſt wholly under the dominion of the Engliſh, and the treaſures which formerly flowed into the coffers of the emperor from theſe wealthy domains, are now diverted to the purpoſe of maintaining their preſent maſters in the poſſeſſion of them.

The wars which that nation have waged in thoſe countries are well known ; but as no true idea can be formed of the actual political ſituation of *Surat*, without being acquainted with the manner in which the Engliſh became maſters here, and have continued till now in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, upon which that of the city depends, I ſhall communicate the particulars thereof, firſt, according to their own accounts, and then agreeable to ours, where they may differ.

The Mogul emperor, having much intereſt in the preſerving the navigation and trade to and from *Surat*, free from moleſtation,

tion, and not being inclined to maintain a naval power himſelf, entered into a contract with the SIDDEE, an Arabian, who, though of an obſcure origin, had found means to collect a fleet ſufficient to render the neighbouring coaſts inſecure *, and he nominated him his admiral, with a yearly revenue of three lacks of rupees, or four hundred and fifty thouſand gilders, for which he was to keep the coaſt free from the ravages of pirates. The payment of this ſum was made, partly out of the revenues of ſome adjacent lands, and partly from the revenues of *Surat*, which was to be annually paid him by the governor of that place.

But when the government of *Surat* failed in the payment thereof, about the year 1750, or 1751, the SIDDEE took an opportunity, under the colour of claiming his arrears, to ſend ſome of his cruiſers into the river of *Surat*, at a time when the monſoon was

* The SIDDEE was chief of a colony of Coffrees, or negroes, from the coaſt of *Africa*, and from *Madagaſcar*, who having been ſettled at *Dunder-Rajapore*, carried on a conſiderable trade there, and had likewiſe many veſſels of force. *Cambridge's War in India*, page 16. *T.*

ſetting

ſetting in, and then made a pretence of the ſeaſon for their remaining there, which does not appear to have excited the ſuſpicion of the governor of *Surat*. SIDDEE MUSSOOT, the commander of the ſquadron, profiting by this ſupineneſs, made uſe of the opportunity to get ſome kind of footing in the government, and to ſeize unexpectedly on the caſtle; which he held till his death, which happened in the year 1756, and left the poſſeſſion of that fortreſs to his ſon, as his lawful ſucceſſor.

MUSSOOT not only retained the government of the caſtle, but greatly encroached on that of the town, and appropriated to himſelf one-third of its revenues. Another third had long ſince been annually paid to the Marattas, and by them farmed out to an officer who reſides at *Surat*. The walls of the town, with the aſſiſtance of the Europeans who have factories there, are a ſufficient defence againſt theſe plunderers; but as they are at all times maſters of the whole country up to the very gates, it has been thought expedient to pay them duly their allotment, rather than ſubject the inland trade to the many delays and difficul-

ties with which it is in the power of the Marattas to clog and interrupt it. They are continually hovering about the place, and watching for invitations, which through the inconſtancy and fluctuation of the governing powers of the city and caſtle, they might eaſily receive; and though they know that the conſequence of their admiſſion into the town would be the abſolute loſs of their revenue for the future (for their government, wherever eſtabliſhed, is fatal to trade), yet from their habitual paſſion for plunder, they are ever feeding themſelves with hopes that ſome governor, in the decline of his power, will open the gates and invite them to a preſent booty, which no arguments of reaſon or policy could reſtrain them from ſeizing.

One MEAH ATCHUND had applied to them for their aſſiſtance, to turn out NOVAS ALLEE CHAN from the government, who likewiſe entertained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Maratta chiefs, and to be himſelf inveſted with the government. MEAH ATCHUND was brought by a party of Marattas from *Poona* to the walls of the town. Having ſo far availed of their aſſiſt-

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ance, he diſcarded them; for the SIDDEE, preferring him to NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, whom he thought to be more dangerouſly connected with the Marattas, agreed to join MEAH ATCHUND, and eſtabliſh him in the city, upon the condition that he would abſolutely renounce their alliance.

The government of the city being thus continually weakened by the encroachments of the caſtle upon the town, it was daily expected that the Marattas would take advantage of this ſtate of anarchy, to make themſelves maſters of the city, for which the internal ſtate of the place ſeemed to be fully ripe, by the lawleſs behaviour of the SIDDEE's ſon, who filled the city with riot and murders, while new exactions and additional burdens were daily laid upon trade, and grew to be intolerable.

In the year 1758, earneſt application was made to Mr. ELLIS, the Engliſh chief at *Surat*, by the principal merchants and inhabitants of the city, deſiring him to recommend it to the preſidency of *Bombay*, to fit out an expedition for the taking poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka* (which was the appellation given to the yearly conſideration

paid to the SIDDEE, for the protection of the coaſt from pirates). They enforced their ſolicitations by entering into an obligation to become reſponſible, for five years, for any deficiency in the revenues of the caſtle and *tanka*, which were eſtimated at two lacks of rupees per annum.

PHARRASS CHAN, who had been *naib*, or deputy-governor, to MEAH ATCHUND, and, properly ſpeaking, the acting magiſtrate, had regulated the police to the ſatisfaction of the whole city; it was therefore propoſed to have him for governor, ſince he had ſufficiently ſhewn how well he was qualified for it by his conduct and behaviour while he acted as ſecond.

Theſe propoſals were the more readily approved and accepted, as the Engliſh complained that they had been often grievouſly oppreſſed by frauds, extortions, and many impediments thrown purpoſely in the way of their buſineſs; as alſo by frequent inſults, violences, and even murders, committed on their ſervants, with a total diſregard to the protection and privileges of the Company.

It was alſo a conſideration of no ſmall weight,

weight, that the poſſeſſion of the caſtle would be a ſecurity againſt entertaining apprehenſion of the Marattas.

Theſe were arguments for undertaking ſuch an enterprize at any time; but what determined the preſidency of *Bombay* to come to a deciſive reſolution on the ſubject, and at laſt cauſed the expedition to take place, was the weight and influence of the ſquadron of men-of-war which was at *Bombay* in the year 1759, under Admiral Pocock, who promiſed to reinforce the Company's armament with two of his ſhips.

Mr. Ellis had taken great pains to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of affairs, and intereſts of the ſeveral perſons concerned in the government of the city and caſtle, during his reſidence there; and had, with no leſs judgment, concerted a plan for ſettling it upon a better eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Spencer, who ſucceeded Mr. Ellis, communicated to the governor and council of *Bombay*, the beſt information he could procure of the poſture of affairs in *Surat*, in the beginning of the year 1759.

He wrote, that he found MEAH ATCHUND governor of the town, but with ſo little power, that the SIDDEE did not ſo much as leave him the nomination of the officers properly belonging to him; and thoſe of the SIDDEE's party, who had been moſt inſtrumental in lowering the authority of ATCHUND, were apprehenſive of his entertaining a correſpondence with the Marattas.

The dread of thoſe ravagers, and the frequent murders which were committed with impunity, ſince the government of the city had ceaſed to be reſpectable, had intimidated the inhabitants to ſo great a degree, that many conſiderable traders and people of ſubſtance had left the place, entertaining at the ſame time, apprehenſions of being plundered in the conteſt between the two parties; and thoſe who ſtaid, were ſincerely deſirous that the caſtle ſhould be in the hands of the Engliſh Company, from the confidence, which they alleged, that they had in the Engliſh, and the opinion they entertained of the humanity and juſtice of their government; truſting, that ſo long as they poſſeſſed the caſtle, they would have influence

ence enough in the town to prevent the violence and oppreſſion which had too long raged without controul.

Beſides the invitation from the whole mercantile intereſt, overtures were made to Mr. SPENCER by two of the principal men in the government, SIDDEE JAFFIER and VELLEY ULLAH, who engaged to contribute all in their power towards ſecuring the caſtle and *tanka* for the Company, upon condition that they ſhould agree to make PHARRASS CHAN governor of the town; or in caſe it ſhould be found too great a difficulty to ſet ATCHUND aſide, that the Company ſhould bring PHARRASS CHAN to *Surat*, with their forces, and place him in the government, by agreement, as *naib*, or deputy-governor, to ATCHUND.

The principal motive of SIDDEE JAFFIER was the preſervation of his large property, which he could not but apprehend to be in great danger under ſo anarchical a government, notwithſtanding his influence with both parties.

VELLEY ULLAH acted upon different principles: he had formerly been a dependant on NOVAS ALLEE CHAN, and had

ſacrificed him to MEAH ATCHUND, with whom he held the ſame place, but with a greater degree of influence; and this he was ſuppoſed to uſe without any ſcruple, for betraying his new maſter to the SIDDEE: conſcious of this, and aware of the diſtruſt which ATCHUND muſt naturally have of him, from his known inſincerity, he was for embracing any opportunity of ſecuring himſelf, by overthrowing or weakening that power which he had juſt reaſon to fear.

From the character of theſe people, there was very little reliance to be placed in their profeſſions of friendſhip, and promiſes of aſſiſtance; it was therefore of much greater conſequence to the ſucceſs of the deſign, to examine into the force that was to oppoſe it, than to be vainly looking after that which was too precarious to be depended on for ſupport.

It was ſoon diſcovered that the SIDDEE had about two thouſand men in pay; after deducting from which, ſuch as were employed in domeſtic ſervices, or kept merely for parade, there might remain a body of about ſeventeen hundred, compoſed of various people, Moors, Gentoos, Arabs, Patans,

tans, and others; but they were allowed to be a better corps than ATCHUND's ſepoys, who were in number about four thouſand. To this body were to be added ſuch a number as they could be expected to raiſe upon the news of the preparations at *Bombay* for an intended attack. At the ſame time it was conſidered, that a body of men ſo raiſed could be no great addition of real ſtrength, ſince they were not likely to behave themſelves as ſoldiers, on the mere conſideration of a few days' pay, well knowing that they ſhould be diſcharged as ſoon as ever the affair was decided. There ſeemed, therefore, to be but one thing to be apprehended, which was, that ATCHUND, or even the SIDDEE, might, in diſtruſt of their own ſtrength, fly to the deſperate reſource of calling in the Marattas.

The preſidency of *Bombay*, now fully apprized of all particulars, and being principally upon their guard againſt the laſt-mentioned fatality, determined upon attempting the enterprize. No danger was to be apprehended by ſea, for, beſides the aſſiſtance of two ſhips from the ſquadron of Admiral POCOCK, it is to be obſerved, that the SIDDEE,

DEE, who enjoyed the *tanka* on condition of keeping up a fleet for the Mogul, had ſo far fallen off in the performance of that condition, that his marine was by no means capable of oppoſing the ſhips of the Company.

The troops appointed for the expedition conſiſted of eight hundred and fifty Europeans, artillery and infantry, and fifteen hundred ſepoys; they were under the command of Captain MAITLAND of the royal regiment of artillery, and embarked on board of the Company's armed veſſels, commanded by Captain WATSON, who ſailed on the 9th of February, and landed them on the fifteenth *.

When Captain MAITLAND approached the town, he found that ſome of the SIDDEE's people had taken poſt in the French garden, whence he diſlodged them, after a hot diſpute of four hours, in which he loſt twenty men. He then directed the engineer to look out for a proper place for a bat-

* The troops were landed at a place called *Dentilowry*, about nine miles from *Surat*, where they encamped three or four days, for refreſhment. *T.*

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tery, which was erected in the night, and on the next day, and alſo on the three following, a briſk fire was kept up from two four-and-twenty pounders, and a thirteen-inch mortar. The enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the Engliſh garden (wharf), and the *Siddee's bunder* (*jenghi bander*, or cuſtom-houſe), and had ſecured them with works and ſtrong palliſadoes. After this continued firing, without any apparent effect, Captain MAITLAND called a council of war, compoſed of military and marine officers, when they concerted a plan for a general attack, and reſolved to carry it into execution the next morning. In purſuance of this plan, the Company's grab and bombketches * warped up the river in the night, and anchored oppoſite to the *bunder* early in the morning; and then a general attack began from the veſſels and a battery, with a deſign to drive the enemy from their batteries, and ſo facilitate the landing of the infantry, who were embarked on board the boats. The firing laſted till after eight, when, upon a ſignal made,

* The large ſhips were of no uſe, the *Bombay* grab of twenty guns, and four bomb ketches, being the only veſſels that had water enough to go into the river. *T.*

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the boats put off, and landed under cover of the veſſels, the military being greatly aſſiſted by the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain WATSON. They ſoon put the enemy to flight, and took poſſeſſion of all the outer town.

There ſtill remained the inner town and caſtle. In order to attack them both at once, three mortars were planted at the diſtance of about ſeven hundred yards (one hundred and ſeventy-five roods) from the caſtle, and five hundred yards (one hundred and twenty-five roods) from the wall of the inner town.

About ſix in the morning the mortars began to play very briſkly, and continued to do ſo till two the next morning. The cannonading and bombardment put the beſieged into ſuch a conſternation, that they never returned one gun.

Several meſſages paſſed, during the attack, between the principal perſons in the town, and Mr. SPENCER, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours to place PHARRASS CHAN in the government; but it appeared that his friends, notwithſtanding the hopes they had given, made not the leaſt effort in his behalf, even after

after the Engliſh had been two days in poſſeſſion of the outer town, but ſignified to Mr. SPENCER, that they choſe PHARRAS CHAN ſhould be *naib*, and that the government ſhould be continued to ATCHUND.

Theſe conſiderations, added to the expence of ſtores, and the loſs of men by the caſualties of war and deſertion, made it imprudent to perſiſt in bringing in PHARRASS CHAN, againſt the inclination of his former partizans, and the intereſt of ATCHUND, who, ſhould he be thereby provoked to unite with the SIDDEE, might fruſtrate the whole deſign. It was therefore agreed to propoſe this plan to ATCHUND and his party, offering to ſecure the government to him on condition of PHARRASS CHAN being made *naib*, and the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka*. Mr. SPENCER accordingly ſet on foot a treaty with ATCHUND, and the following agreement was ratified on both ſides:

" Agreeable to your deſire, I ſent a per-
" ſon to you, by whom you adviſed me ver-
" bally of your demands; and with ſincerity
" of heart I now write the particulars I can
" agree to, which are as follows:"

[ATCHUND's

[ATCHUND's *Seal.*]

"Article I. That PHARRASS CHAN ſhall be appointed to the office of *naib*, in its greateſt extent, as in the time of SUFFDAIR CHAN, and nobody but himſelf ſhall interfere in the ſaid poſt."

"II. That whatever articles PHARRASS CHAN has given in writing, or promiſed, to the honourable Company (the particulars of which cannot be drawn out at preſent, and muſt be deferred till we can meet), ſhall be fully complied with, without the leaſt diminution."

"III. That the *Mecca*-gate ſhall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we ſhall join our forces, to drive our enemy out of the town."

"IV. The above articles a perſon in your behalf demanded, all which I agree to, and will comply with, and the government ſhall be continued to me in full authority; and to the above I have put my own ſeal, and MEER COOTBODEEN will

[COOTBODEEN's *Seal.*]

"Article I. Agreeable to this article, I fully conſent to PHARRASS CHAN's appointment."

"II. Whatever PHARRASS CHAN has written, or promiſed to do for the honourable Company, I will ſtand to without the leaſt alteration."

"III. The *Mecca*-gate ſhall be opened, your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy."

"IV. Agreed to; and that we ſhall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable Company have demanded, I agree to."

" will ſign and ſeal the
" ſame, after which you
" muſt ſend a counterpart
" of this writing, with the
" honourable Company's
" ſeal affixed."

A counterpart of the above articles were ſealed with the honourable Company's ſeal, and ſent to ATCHUND, on the fourth of March, 1759.

As ſoon as theſe articles were executed, ATCHUND immediately opened the inner town gate, and ordered a party of men to aſſiſt in bringing the SIDDEE to terms; who being acquainted with this junction, was convinced that it muſt be impoſſible for him to hold out againſt their combined force, and the general voice of the people.

After many repeated meſſages, with a variety of propoſals, it was at laſt agreed, that the SIDDEE's people ſhould have liberty to march out with their arms and accoutrements, and alſo be permitted to take away all their valuable effects, and even the common furniture of their houſes.

The whole of this was effected with the greateſt regularity, and the Engliſh were peaceably put in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and *tanka*.

The

The guns and ammunition found in the caſtle were ſecured for the Company, as alſo the veſſels and naval ſtores, till ſuch time as the Mogul's pleaſure was known. As ſoon as the grants arrived from *Dehly*, appointing the Company admiral to the Mogul, the ſhips and ſtores belonged to them, of courſe, as part of the *tanka* *.

The

* It ſhould be remarked, that theſe grants were ſolicited and obtained before the murder of the Mogul, and the revolution at *Dehly*; and arrived ſome time after the reduction of the caſtle. The two principal grants were as follows:

Firman, or order, under the great Mogul's ſeal, and underſealed by his vizier, for the honourable Company's holding the government of the caſtle of *Surat*.

" Let the renowned among the people, the Engliſh Com-
" pany, hope for his majeſty's favour; and be it known unto
" them, that in theſe happy and victorious times, his majeſty
" has been pleaſed, out of his great grace and favour, to grant
" unto them the *killidarei*, or government, of the caſtle of
" *Surat*, on its being taken from MUSSOOT ACHMED CHAN;
" it therefore is requiſite that they ſhould be very grateful for
" this his majeſty's favour, and look particularly to the welfare
" of the caſtle, keeping proper order and diſcipline among the
" troops, and having proviſions, ſtores, and ammunition al-
" ways in readineſs, as has been uſual, which is ſtrictly and
" eſpecially required of them by his majeſty."

" Given on the eleventh day of *Mharum*, and in the ſixth
" year of his majeſty's reign (or 4th of September, 1759)."

Horſbal Hookum, or order, under the ſeal of the nabob vizier,

ULMA

The killed and wounded on the ſide of the Engliſh, in this expedition, did not amount to more than one hundred Europeans, but the loſs by deſertion was greater.

This particular account of the tranſaction is drawn from the *Account of the War in India*, by RICHARD OWEN CAMBRIDGE, printed at *London*, 1761; where likewiſe are detailed the articles of agreement which the Engliſh entered into with the Marattas on this head *.

The

ULMA MALECK BAHADOUR, to the Engliſh Company, accompanying the *firman*.

" May his majeſty's favour ever remain upon the brave and " noble Engliſh Company. It has pleaſed his majeſty to grant " unto you the office of *killedar* (or caſtle-governor) of the " *bunder* of *Surat*, vacant by the diſmiſſion of HOFFIS AMED " CHAN; as alſo the office of *deroga* (or admiral) of the great " fleet of the *waid bunder*, vacant by the diſmiſſion of SIDDEE " YACOOD CHAN. Therefore, agreeable to his order, you " are now directed to take particular care of the proper ex- " ecution of the above offices, by looking well to the welfare " of the caſtle, and preſervation of the merchants, &c. on the " high ſeas, keeping them clear of pirates and rovers who " may infeſt them. This is poſitively required of you." *T.*

* The following are the articles of agreement, between the Engliſh Company, and the Marattas, alluded to:

" I. As the SIDDEE at *Surat* has not only become trouble- " ſome for many years to the honourable Company, the " *Circar* (the Maratta officers), the merchants, &c. but has

The accounts which were given me of the matter in our factory at *Surat*, differ, in ſome

" poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle, and uſurped the government " of the place, to the entire ruin of trade, and of the city " of *Surat*; it is therefore agreed, between the *Circar* and " the honourable Company, to turn him out of *Surat*, that " every body may be eaſy there, to purſue his own advan- " tage, and for the general benefit of the place."

" II. That the Engliſh ſhall have the ſole power and au- " thority to make any man nabob there, and the *Circar* ſhall " approve ſuch election without heſitation; and they (the " Engliſh) ſhall have the ſame power and authority to turn " him out, by informing the *Circar*, who will not have " any objection to it, ſhould he prove a bad man, in any " reſpect, towards the merchants, or any body elſe."

" III. That the nabob, &c. ſhall make no alterations in " the cuſtoms on goods, &c. but let that article, and every " thing elſe, remain as at preſent."

" IV. That the caſtle, when taken, ſhall be poſſeſſed by " the Engliſh, and they ſhall have the ſole command of it " for the ſafety of the place, and benefit of the government, " and for which they ſhall receive the uſual allowance."

" V. That when the SIDDEE at *Surat* is turned out, the " *tanka* which he had for maintaining a fleet, ſhall be div..ed " yearly in three ſhares, viz. to the *Circar*, to the Company, " and to the Nabob, each one-third."

" VI. That the *Circar* ſhall receive, as uſual, from the " government, what is juſtly due to them, and pay out of it " what is due to *Damojee*, but both the *Circar*'s and *Damojee*'s " officers and people are to give aſſiſtance, for the greater im- " port and export of goods, &c. to and from *Surat*."

" VII. That the nabob, or governor, of *Surat* ſhall re- " ceive,

ſome meaſure, from the foregoing; they were as follows;

The governor of the city of *Surat* was, in the year 1750, a Moor *, of an obſcure

" ceive, as uſual, what is due to him from the *Circar* and " *Damojee*, for the country without *Surat* gates."

" VIII. That ſhould there be any quarrel or diſturbance " within the town, and there be an occaſion for putting a " ſtop to any thing any where out of the gates of *Surat*, the " *Circar*'s people are to do or deſiſt from the ſame, conforma- " ble to the deſire of the Engliſh, and not otherwiſe; and " thoſe officers and people are not to offer to meddle in any " affairs of the *Surat* government, or ſhew any moleſtation to " the ſame."

After theſe propoſals, it was extremely difficult to manage the Marattas, who were continually interfering. During the ſiege, a body of their troops approached *Surat*, and deſired to be admitted to act in concert with the Engliſh: but as ſuch an affair would have diſguſted the Moors in the town, Mr. SPENCER managed ſo as to wave it without offence; uſing, at the ſame time, all poſſible precautions to prevent the Marattas from having any intercourſe with the SIDDEE, or ATCHUND, with both of whom they had been tampering, notwithſtanding their profeſſions to the Company. At laſt he found it neceſſary to declare, that he would not allow of any force appearing before the place, while the Engliſh were carrying on their operations againſt it. *T.*

* Mr. CAMBRIDGE aptly remarks, that it is a great impropriety to call the Mahomedan conquerors of India by the name of Moors, and yet, as the writers of all nations have always given them that appellation, it would now be a greater impropriety to deviate from that uſage. *T.*

 origin,

origin, who had raiſed himſelf into importance by treachery, and maintained his ill-gotten power by corruption, and by the aid of the Engliſh He acknowledged, it is true, the great mogul for his lord paramount, but he paid little regard to his commands. He had likewiſe, it is true, ſeveral co-regents, who, on account of their great wealth, were much looked up to by the inhabitants; but they had very little to ſay in the actual adminiſtration of the government. He had even ſucceeded in introducing his ſon as governor of the caſtle, who was a youth, who dared not do any thing without the concurrence of his father; ſo that the governor of the city was, at that time, if not wholly independent, yet entirely uncontrouled in his local government.

This, however, was not of long duration; for the SIDDEE making himſelf maſter of the caſtle, his great power, joined to a conſummate and artful policy, enabled him to ſettle almoſt every thing according to his own liking: the governor was even obliged to ſubmit to him, though externally the SIDDEE paid every reſpect to his office.

As

As long as this SIDDEE lived, he kept every thing in proper order. His moderation and equity prevented him from acting with much injuſtice; the inhabitants enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity; he took care, in particular, that the Engliſh did not overſtep the bounds of law and authority, when they thought they might freely launch out into exceſſes, upon the ground that they had afforded aid to the governor of the city.

But no ſooner did this SIDDEE die, but all was replete with confuſion: his ſon and ſucceſſor being ſtill a child, could not be equal to his father in abilities, nor keep the city in repoſe and peace: the flames of civil contention began to rage anew between thoſe who aſpired to the government, and who, in their turns, ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed and depoſed each other. One party had recourſe for aſſiſtance to the Marattas; another called in the aid of the Engliſh. As the latter conceived that theſe commotions were very advantageous for their intereſt, they formed a plan for getting poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and keeping it in their power for ever.

For that purpoſe, and in order to give the

greater appearance of juſtice to their cauſe, they firſt entered into articles of agreement with a certain Moor, called FARIS CHAN, who was at that time *naib*, or deputy of the governor, which were ſigned at *Bombay*, on the 12th of March, 1758, and a copy thereof, written in the Perſian language, was ſent by FARIS CHAN himſelf, after he had conceived ſome diſguſt with the Engliſh, to our director SENF, and which is ſtill preſerved among the Company's papers at *Surat*, being as follows:

Tranſlation of the Perſian contract, ſigned between the Engliſh Company and FARIS CHAN, *by the mediation of* RICHARD BOURCHIER, *governor of the iſland of Bombay, in the month* Reuel, *or, according to the European account, on the* 12*th of March,* 1758.

" Article I. The Engliſh Company ſhall " be bound to eſtabliſh the ſaid FARIS " CHAN as governor of *Surat*, by force of " men and ships, to place him in that go- " vernment, and to give him their aſſiſtance " to maintain him in it."

" II. The caſtle of *Surat*, together with " its revenues, the uſual amount of the pay

" of

" of the SIDDEE, ſhall remain with the " Engliſh Company, who ſhall enjoy the " whole, in the ſame manner as the SID- " DEE."

" III. FARIS CHAN ſhall be bound to " take the charges of this war for his ac- " count, and to defray them, out of the " revenues and duties of *Surat*, which ſhall " be ſpecially bound as ſecurity for the " ſame."

" IV. Beſides which, FARIS CHAN ſhall " further give, as a donation to the Euro- " pean land and marine forces, two lacks " of rupees, in order that they may not " plunder the town, which ſum ſhall be " levied upon the merchants and money- " changers."

" V. The city-gate, ſituated by the " waterſide, and called *Molnakeerkee*, ſhall " always remain in the poſſeſſion of the " Engliſh, without that the governor ſhall " be allowed to diſturb them in the leaſt " therein. They ſhall likewiſe have two " other gates, one in the inner, and an- " other in the outer town, for their free " and uncontrouled ingreſs and egreſs, with-

" out that any one ſhall ſtop or hinder them
" therein."

" VI. Agreeable to the privileges granted
" by *firmans* to the Engliſh Company, they
" ſhall, together with the merchants under
" their protection, be permitted to proſe-
" cute their trade, according to cuſtom,
" without being at all obſtructed by the
" government therein."

" VII. The other European merchants
" ſhall alſo freely proſecute their trade,
" agreeable to the tenor of the grants they
" have obtained from the emperor, without
" being obſtructed by any one therein."

" VIII. FARIS CHAN ſhall continue to
" pay to the Marattas one-third part of the
" revenues of *Surat*, in the ſame manner as
" they have, for ſeveral years, received that
" allotment."

(underneath)

The Seal of the Engliſh Company.

(and ſigned)

" RICHARD BOURCHIER,

" FARIS CHAN."

" This tranſlation is made from a copy
" of the aforeſaid contract, delivered by the
" ſaid

" ſaid FARIS CHAN himſelf, to the brokers
" of the honourable Company, MANTCHER-
" GI, and GOVENRAM."

(underneath)

" Tranſlated as dictated by the Com-
" pany's brokers.

(ſigned) " W. SMIT."

This agreement with FARIS CHAN being thus made, the preſidency of *Bombay* ſent orders to Mr. SPENCER, their chief at *Surat*, to leave no means untried in order to ſecure the friendſhip of thoſe who might be able to oppoſe their enterprizes. As this gentleman was perfectly well adapted for ſuch a commiſſion, he ſoon effected the neceſſary arrangements, and he had the addreſs not only to corrupt one of the principal officers of the SIDDEE, who commanded in the caſtle, for twenty thouſand rupees (of which only five thouſand were afterwards paid), but he engaged Mr. TAILLEFORT, the then director of our Company at *Surat*, to remain perfectly inactive, and not to intermeddle at all in the affair; and as the oppoſition of the Dutch was the greateſt obſtacle which he had to apprehend, he did

not

not find much difficulty, after this bar was removed, the SIDDEE betrayed, and the governor of the city deſtitute of authority, to get poſſeſſion of a town very ill provided with the means of defence.

This narrative, which appears to me to bear more marks of veracity than that of the Engliſh, might afford ſufficient matter for odious reflections, which will naturally preſent themſelves to the mind of every impartial reader.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

Great Power of the Engliſh at SURAT.—*Their Abuſe of it.—Particular Inſtance of their Oppreſſion.—Wretched Condition of the Natives.—War between the Engliſh and the Mcrattas.—Occaſion of it, &c.—The Expence of the Engliſh Eſtabliſhment at* SURAT *exceeds their Income from it.—Some Particulars reſpecting their Factory.—The French Factory and Garden.—Humiliations they ſuffer from the Engliſh.—The Portugueſe.—Their Trade.—When the Dutch were firſt eſtabliſhed here.*

THE Engliſh have now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves here, that they give laws to all others; and neither Europeans nor Indians can do any thing without their ſpecial approbation.

The governor of the city, or nabob, does not, in this reſpect, differ from the loweſt inhabitant; he muſt obey their commands, although they ſhew him externally ſome honour, and will not, in public, allow that he is ſubſervient to them.

To give but one inſtance of their tyranny, as likewiſe of the implicit obedience which the

the nabob pays to their mandates, I will relate the following occurrence, which took place during the time I was at *Surat*.

A large number of horſes having been brought to *Surat*, from the interior parts of the country, for ſale, two of them were purchaſed by the warehouſekeeper of our company, Mr. VAN C——, for ſeven hundred rupees, and the money was immediately paid to the ſeller; after which the purchaſer had the horſes carried to his ſtable. It chanced that the lady of the French conſul * * * had juſt before cauſed an offer to be made for them; but as the price could not be agreed upon, the horſes were ſold to Mr. VAN C——. The lady was a high-minded woman, and conceived that ſhe ought to have the preference above others; ſhe accordingly intimidated the ſeller, who was an Indian, by means of the Engliſh chief, Mr. GAMBIER, to ſuch a degree, that he came to Mr. VAN C——, entreating him to take back the purchaſe-money, and to give up the horſes; but Mr. VAN C—— not liſtening to his requeſt, Mr. GAMBIER ſent to aſk, in his own name, for the horſes, threatening that, in caſe of refuſal, he would make his

his own people fetch them out of the ſtable or would take them away from before the carriage, whenever they came over the Engliſh garden; upon which the owner returned for anſwer, that he ſhould wait the iſſue of Mr. GAMBIER'S menaces.

GAMBIER and the French conſul, but eſpecially the former, who made it a point of honour to gain poſſeſſion of the horſes, got the nabob to interfere in the buſineſs. Accordingly, a few days afterwards, the nabob ſent to Mr. VAN C——, requeſting that he might have a ſight of the horſes, which were the occaſion of ſo much diſſention; he deſired that they might be ſent to his court, or *durbar*; and he ſent aſſurances to Mr. VAN C——, with the moſt ſolemn affirmation, upon his word of honour, that it was only to ſatisfy his curioſity, and that as ſoon as he had viewed the horſes, he would ſend them back again.

Mr. VAN C——, relying upon the ſolemn aſſurance, and the word of honour of the nabob, ſent the horſes to him. They were, however, no ſooner in his power, than he ſent word to Mr. VAN C—— that it was impoſſible for him to fulfil his promiſes, as Mr. GAMBIER poſitively inſiſted upon having the

the horſes; but he offered to give two of his own horſes inſtead of them, which Mr. VAN C—— might chooſe from among the beſt in his ſtables, or that he would pay to Mr. VAN C—— the money which he had diſburſed for the horſes: but this offer was rejected; and Mr. VAN C—— returned for anſwer, that he expected to have his horſes back again.

But he obtained no redreſs, the horſes were carried from the *durbar* to the French factory; Mrs. * * * and Mr. GAMBIER obtained their wiſhes, and Mr. VAN C—— loſt his beautiful horſes.

I believe that complaints were made by the Company on this ſubject, but no more regard was paid to theſe than to the repreſentations of private perſons.

Hence it may eaſily be conceived, that, as the Engliſh act in ſo arbitrary and cavalier a manner towards the nabob, and the governors of the place, the poor natives are in a much worſe condition, having neither courage, money, power, nor protectors, to procure juſtice to be done to them.

Trade, too, has been declining from day to day ever ſince the Engliſh have played the maſters here, as has been more than once

once teſtified to me by the company's brokers, and by many principal Banian merchants.

They preſs the labourers and manufacturers into their own ſervice, and pay them no more than they think fit, and ſometimes nothing at all.

The common people are compelled by them to ſerve as ſoldiers, and their lawful governors do not oppoſe it. They cover the whole by the plauſible allegation that they bear arms in the ſervice of the mogul, and not in that of the Company.

Nothing remains, therefore, for the unfortunate inhabitants of *Surat*, but to offer up their prayers to the ſupreme Being whom they adore, for deliverance from the tyranny of a nation, that know no bounds in proſperity, and offer up, without ſcruple, the welfare of all others at the ſhrine of their own intereſt, regardleſs of the happineſs or miſery of their fellow-creatures.

They thus not long ago involved their company in a war with the Marattas, the proſpects whereof are not now at all favourable to them.

The prince of the Marattas, who, from his capital city, ſituated in the interior parts of

of the *Deckan*, was called king of *Poonah*, having been made away with a few years before, by his brother, RAGA BOUWA *, the murderer made himſelf maſter of that city and of the empire, to the prejudice of his nephew, the ſon of the former king, without any apparent oppoſition from any one.

Having, as he conceived, nothing more to fear, he left *Poonah*, to viſit an old princeſs who reſided a few days' journey off, and to whom, as ſeems, from the accounts of this tranſaction, to be the caſe, the Maratta princes perform ſome act of homage, upon their acceſſion to the throne, in order to be confirmed by her in the government.

The widow of the late king, and mother of the injured young prince, who had, by the powerful agency of corruption, brought moſt of the head-men to favour her attempt, all which, by her dexterous management, remained a profound ſecret to the uſurper, took this opportunity to ſeize upon the capital city, *Poonah*, in behalf of her ſon, and to

* Otherwiſe ROGANAUT-ROW. The wars carried on by the Britiſh in India, during and ſubſequent to this period, have been recorded in ſo many narratives given to the public, that it is needleſs to add any thing here on the ſubject. *T.*

purſue

purſue RAGA BOUWA with a conſiderable body of forces. Unable to withſtand her troops, the uſurper fled to *Surat*, and threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh, to whom he made an offer to pay them eighteen lacks of rupees, if they would join their forces to his, and reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

This propoſal was accepted by the preſidency of *Bombay*; and reaſons of ſufficient plauſibility were adduced, to make it appear a meaſure well adapted to promote the intereſts of their company. It was ſettled, that a certain part of the eighteen lacks of rupees, promiſed by RAGA BOUWA (which, however, was not a very large portion) ſhould be allotted to the company, in reimburſement of the expences of the war, whilſt the greateſt part of that ſum was appropriated to their own uſe by the governor and council of *Bombay*, as a ſmall recompence, forſooth, for the trouble which the proſecution of this war would put them to.

The event, however, by no means anſwered their expectations. The army of the queen, inceſſantly active to haraſs the troops of RAGA BOUWA, and his Engliſh allies, at

aſt defeated them entirely in the year 1774; and they had even got poſſeſſion of the artillery of the Engliſh, when their thirſt of plunder loſt them that advantage: the remainder of the united army was, however, forced to fly, with the tyrant, to *Baroche*, whilſt the *Poonah* army laid waſte the countryr ound *Surat*, and pillaged all the villages, even burning down to the ground the country-ſeat of the Engliſh broker at *Poule-parre*, which is no more than one Dutch mile from *Surat*, which city was in conſequence thrown into the greateſt conſternation, as the enemy were expected to inveſt it every moment; but they retreated, without making any attempt upon the city.

RAGA BOUWA remained, in the mean while, in the *Baroche* country, where he did the ſame thing as the army of *Poonah* did in the parts which they viſited. He deſolated the ſurrounding country, and extorted as much money as he poſſibly could from the inhabitants, without which it would have been impoſſible for him to ſatisfy the hungry bellies and empty purſes of his Engliſh friends, whoſe officers fared well by this campaign, eſpecially thoſe belonging to the artillery.

In

In the mean time a new governor * had arrived in *Bengal* from Europe, who, when informed of this war, ſent immediate orders to the preſidency of *Bombay*, to ſuſpend all operations, for the ſpace of ſix months, or till further orders were given.

RAGA BOUWA and his confederates, thus diſappointed in their views, remained encamped with their army, between *Baroche* and *Surat*, till the month of October, 1775, when he came down, by degrees, as far as *Naſſary*, ſituate a few Dutch miles below *Surat*, without, however, being able to refrain from leaving behind him, wherever he paſſed, traces of his luſt of rapine and deſtruction.

At laſt the long-hoped-for permiſſion to continue the war arrived from *Bengal*, in the month of December; and it was aſſerted that a large number of troops were arrived at *Bombay* from Europe; and, if the accounts received ſhortly before my departure were true, of which there was no reaſon to doubt, this reinforcement came at a very critical period, for the queen was ſaid to be marching with a very large army to attack RAGA

* Mr. HASTINGS. *T.*

BOUWA, and that ſhe had encamped with her forces, at no greater diſtance from him than forty *cos*, or twenty-two Dutch miles; whilſt one of the native princes, who had declared himſelf in favour of the young prince, followed her footſteps with an auxiliary army of fifty thouſand men: againſt this formidable force, RAGA BOUWA had no more than twenty-eight thouſand men, and the Engliſh army amounted only to fourteen thouſand; and they were the leſs likely to make an effectual reſiſtance, as a violent diſſention had juſt before taken place between the two armies, in which even blood was ſpilt, ariſing from the circumſtance that the Engliſh had killed ſome oxen, which are eſteemed holy by the Marattas.

From theſe accounts it appears that *Surat*, with reſpect to the Engliſh, is not a head-factory, but ſubordinate to the preſidency of *Bombay*, who ſend one of their members to *Surat*, under the denomination of chief, to whom a council is given, in conjunction with whom he ſettles all matters occurring at his factory, ſubject, however, to the approbation of the governor and council of *Bombay*.

It is eaſily to be conceived, that they drive the

the moſt profitable trade here; and yet, their gains, added to one third of the revenues of the city, are not ſufficient to indemnify their company, for the heavy expence they muſt incur here, eſpecially for the maintenance of the military force they are obliged to keep up; and it is ſaid, that they would not retain this object of expence, were not *Bombay* their chief ſettlement in the weſtern parts of *Hindoſtan*, ſituated upon a barren iſland, which muſt draw all its articles of proviſion from this place; and likewiſe if this eſtabliſhment did not ſerve them as a poſt to maintain themſelves, in this part of *Hindoſtan*.

Beſides the caſtle, of which they are the keepers in the name of the great mogul, they have a lodge, or factory, in the inner town, where, equally as we, their merchants muſt reſide; as alſo a garden, or wharf, which lies next to ours, but below it, towards the mouth of the river.

Moſt of the members of their council dwell diſperſed in different parts of the inner and outer town.

One of the members of the council, either the chief, or the next in rank to him, muſt paſs the night in the city; and the keys of

the gates, which are ceded to them, are brought to him in the evening, and taken away again in the morning.

The French have likewiſe their lodge, or factory, in the inner town, and a garden, ſituate out of the *Mocha*, or *Attua*-gate, to which they have given the name of *Bel Air*. Before the abolition of their company, they had, like other nations, a chief; but he is now called the French conſul, and is appointed as ſuch by the king of France.

They are not allowed, as the other European nations are, to hoiſt a flag at their factory, or garden, though this privilege is not denied them at *Chandernagore*, in *Bengal*. The Engliſh will not permit them to do it here; and they will be deprived of this ſatisfaction as long as that people retain any authority at *Surat*. Their conſul was forced by the Engliſh, not long ago, to deſtroy a flight of ſteps behind his garden, deſcending towards the river. The trade of the French here is likewiſe of very little importance.

The Portugueſe were the firſt Europeans who eſtabliſhed themſelves here: they are, at preſent, the leaſt in power and reſpect. Their chief, who, it is ſaid, is a Jew, was put

put under a guard of ſepoys by the mogul, or nabob, in his lodge, or factory, a ſhort time before my departure; and he was guarded ſo ſtrictly, that ſome ſepoys were ſtationed night and day in his chamber: this was occaſioned by an affray which had taken place between his ſlaves and thoſe of the nabob, and reſpecting which he refuſed to give proper ſatisfaction.

Their trade is but trifling; yet it is not diſadvantageous to the manufacturers of cloth, for they buy up thoſe pieces which are rejected by us, becauſe they do not agree with the pattern, and ſend them to *Goa*, and thence to their ſettlements on the coaſt of *Africa*.

The ſhortneſs of the time I was at *Surat*, did not permit me to procure any further information reſpecting the foreign nations that reſort to *Surat*.

The Dutch did not eſtabliſh themſelves here till ſeveral years after the Engliſh; and, if we calculate from the arrival of our firſt director, PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, it was not before the year 1616, that we had any eſtabliſhed trade here; he left the ſenior merchant, PETER GILLISSEN, and three

others, here, to diſpoſe of the goods they had brought, with the proviſional approbation of the magiſtrates of the city, till further orders ſhould come from the king, or great mogul, to whom letters were written, craving protection and ſupport: but the firſt *firman* was not received till the year 1618.

CHAPTER VI.

The Firmans granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company by the Moguls.—Enumeration and Particulars of them.—Reflections upon them.—They are of little comparative Importance now that the Mogul Empire is, in a Manner, ſubjected to the Engliſh.

THE *firmans*, or letters-patent, ſigned by the great mogul himſelf, by which his will is made known to his viceroys and lieutenants *, are the foundations upon which all foreign nations build their privilege of trading in the empire of *Hindoſtan*.

Thoſe which the Dutch Company have obtained from time to time, not without great trouble, and valuable preſents, are twenty-nine in number; of which are preſerved in the Company's archives in *Surat* twenty-two originals, written in the Perſian language, and ſeven copies, the originals

* A grant given by the mogul, is called a *firman*, or *phirmaund*; by the mogul's ſon, a *nuſhawn*; by the nabob, a *perwanna*; and by the vizier, a *beuſhul-hookum*. *T.*

whereof

whereof are kept at our factories in *Bengal*, and on the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

I will enumerate the privileges granted to the Dutch by them, one by one, in order to give a better idea of the grounds upon which our commerce in the empire of *Hindoſtan* reſts:

I. The firſt *firman* granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, is that of the year 1618 of our era, or 1027 of the *Hegira*, by JEHAAR GIER ABSUL CHAN, prime miniſter, or vizier, of SHAH SELIM, addreſſed to the regents of *Surat*, in favour of the ſenior merchant, and *pro interim* chief, PETER GILLISSEN, and contains the following articles:

1. That all help and friendſhip ſhall be ſhewn to the Dutch, and no more ſhall be exacted from them for cuſtoms than is uſual in *Surat*.

2. That the merchants who ſell and buy their goods, ſhall not be ſuffered to be moleſted therein.

3. That the preſents which they intend for the king, ſhall be examined at the cuſtomhouſe, ſealed there, and ſent thence to his majeſty.

4. That no one ſhall be allowed to make any

any claim upon the effects of the Dutch who may die, but that they ſhall be left untouched to the diſpoſition of his lawful heirs.

5. That no one ſhall interfere in any diſputes that may ariſe amongſt them, but that the ſame ſhall be left to the deciſion of their own chief, who is put over them.

6. That no one of them ſhall be compelled to embrace the mahomedan religion by force.

7. That, according to ancient cuſtom, no duties ſhall be exacted upon the proviſions which they may want for their ſhips.

8. That no injuſtice ſhall be done to them, under any pretence whatever; and care ſhall likewiſe be taken that none be committed on their part.

II. The ſecond was granted by SHAH JEHAAN, to PETER VAN DEN BROECKE, director of *Surat*, in the firſt year of his majeſty's reign, being, according to our era, the year 1627, and containing the following articles;

1. That the Company ſhall be allowed to make uſe of ſuch brokers, as they may chooſe to employ, in their operations of trade.

2. That

3. That it is their cuſtom to hire carts in *Agra*.

The fourth article of the firſt *firman* is alſo confirmed by this.

V. The fifth, granted by the ſame prince to the director of *Surat*, PETER VAN DER GRAAF, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, contains the following articles:

1. The fifth article of the ſecond, and the firſt and ſecond articles of the third, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. That they, namely, the Dutch, are exempt from all other charges; and that, therefore, the governors ſhall prohibit all rajahs, polygars *, &c. from taking any thing elſe from the Dutch, and from moleſting them in any caſe.

3. That their brokers who traffic in indigo, ſaltpetre, piecegoods, and other articles, at *Agra*, *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Brodera*, *Amedabad*, or any where elſe, ſhall not, upon the allegations of others, ſuffer any harm, be put into priſon, or any pecuniary exactions levied upon them.

* *Rajah*, a Gentoo prince; *polygar*, lord of a ſmall territory. *T.*

4. That

4. That the governors ſhall in no wiſe moleſt them, if they be not guilty of any crime.

VI. The ſixth, given by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, VAN DER GRAAF, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, the 1043d of the *Hegira*, or 1634th of the chriſtian era, grants:

1. That thenceforward no one ſhall carry on any trade in indigo, on account of the king; but that article ſhall, according to ancient cuſtom, be left free, for all merchants who chooſe to purchaſe it of the inhabitants of the country.

2. That the governors ſhall therefore have to take care that their inferior officers, *duans* *, regents, and others throughout the king's extenſive dominions, and thoſe who are attached to the intereſts of his majeſty, ſhall not interdict the Dutch from making purchaſes of this article; but, according to ancient cuſtom, they ſhall allow them freely to make purchaſe of it, wherever they chooſe.

* *Duan* is a prime miniſter, but here ſeems to mean a deputy. T.

3. That

2. That they ſhall be allowed to purchaſe all goods, as indigo, cotton, cloths, ſilk, ſaltpetre, alcativas, and what they may further ſtand in need of, at the market-price, without being hindered, or moleſted therein, by any one.

3. That they ſhall have liberty to diſpoſe of their merchandize at whatever place, to whomſoever, and at whatever prices, they may chooſe, without being prohibited from ſo doing by any one.

4. That no one ſhall impoſe a price upon their goods but themſelves.

5. That no one ſhall exact from them any thing more than the cuſtom and port-duties, and theſe only to the cuſtomary amount.

6. That each governor, or chief, of a diſtrict, ſhall be obliged to give their goods, imported or exported, ſafe paſſage, in and out of his diſtrict.

7. And laſtly, that they ſhall be allowed to hire a lodge, or factory, in *Agra* and *Amedabad*.

III. The third, granted by the ſame SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the fourth year of his majeſty's reign.

reign, being the year 1040 of the *Hegira*, and 1631 of the chriſtian era, is to the following effect:

1. That no one ſhall be permitted to exact any other cuſtom-duty upon the wares, merchandize, &c. of the Dutch, than ſuch as they cuſtomarily pay to the government of *Surat*.

2. That, therefore, nothing ſhall be required or exacted from them at other places.

3. That they may in conſequence ſend off their goods, for the maintenance of friendſhip, in the lands of the king, with perfect tranquillity.

IV. The fourth, granted equally by SHAH JEHAAN, to the director, JOHN VAN HASSELT, in the ſixth year of his majeſty's reign, or 1042 of the *Hegira*, in the month *Rebuel Sanee*, being the year 1632, ſtates:

1. That the Company may hire camels, carts, and whatever they may further ſtand in need of, without being moleſted therein by any one.

2. That all governors, rulers, guards, and others, in places where the Dutch may arrive, ſhall obey this order.

3. That

3. That no *rahadarees* *, or expences of roads, ſhall be demanded of them, nor ſhall any one be allowed to extort money from them, in order that they may not be hindered in the proſecution of their trade.

VII. The ſeventh, given by the ſame prince, to the director of *Surat*, BERNARD PIETERSZOON, in the eighth year of his majeſty's reign, being the year 1044 of the *Hegira*, and 1634 of our era, is to the following effect:

That SEIF CHAN is hereby ordered, that no more indigo ſhall be purchaſed for the king; and that neither he ſhall purchaſe any for himſelf; that this order ſhall not be contravened by the other regents who ſtand under him, but that the trade in indigo ſhall be left entirely to the merchants.

VIII. The eighth, granted, as before, by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, PIETERSZOON, in the eleventh year of his majeſty's reign, on the 24th of the month *Jamadius Sanie*, the year 1047 of the *Hegira*, or 1638 of our era, contains orders:

* *Rahadar* is the title of an officer, who has charge of the highways, the examination of paſſengers, and the collection of cuſtoms, where any are there collected. *T.*

1. That

1. That nothing ſhall be required, at any place, upon the merchandize imported by the Dutch into his majeſty's dominions, by the governors of *Amedabad*, or by any others, nor any covetous extortions be practiſed towards them.

2. That a free paſſage ſhall always be allowed for their goods, by the *Montaſabad*, or other rivers or roads, to paſt the river *Zoer*, by *Dehly*.

IX. The ninth was granted by the ſame prince to the Surat director, PAUL KROOK, in the ſixteenth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 15th of the month *Sabaar*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, and contains—

The confirmation of the firſt, fifth, and ſixth articles of the ſecond *firman*.

X. The tenth, granted by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, KROOK, in the ſame year, the ſixteenth of his majeſty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Ramazan*, the year 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, ordains:

1. That of the goods purchaſed by the Dutch in *Agra*, the ten rupees ſhall be taken as twelve, and thoſe purchaſed at *Amedabad*,

or imported there, the ten rupees as ten and a half, according to which the calculations of the duties ſhall be made.

2. That upon the merchandize which they purchaſe at *Brodera*, *Surat*, or the places adjacent, no more ſhall be required than the invoice or real purchaſe prices ſhew to be due to the king's treaſury, into which the cuſtoms ſhall be paid.

3. That no one ſhall take or exact any thing more from them.

XI. The eleventh was granted by the ſame prince, to the ſaid director, KROOK, in the ſame year, being the ſixteenth of his majeſty's reign, 1052 of the *Hegira*, or 1643 of our era, on the 14th of the month *Sabaan*, enacting:

1. That thenceforward no one ſhall be allowed to require any thing from the Dutch for *rabadareas*, for charges, or for duties on proviſions, but ſhall permit them to paſs and repaſs without reſtraint throughout the king's dominions, and ſhall not moleſt them, or form any claim upon them, as they are declared to be exempt from all impoſitions.

2. That they may take ſuch roads, and make uſe of ſuch baiting or reſting places,

as

as they may themſelves judge fit, without being moleſted therein by any one.

3. The firſt article of the ſecond *firman* is repeatedly confirmed, with the addition,

4. That all who infringe this command, ſhall anſwer for their violation of it to the king.

XII. The twelfth, being granted by the ſame prince, SHAH JEHAAN, to the Surat director, ARNOLD BERNARD MUISKENS, in the eighteenth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1054 of the *Hegira*, or 1645 of our era, orders:

1. That a certain *Baguan* ſhall not intrude himſelf into the employment of the Dutch, but ſhall leave to them to make uſe of whatever perſon they chooſe, as broker.

2. That no more duty, or brokerage, ſhall be taken from them, than is legally claimable, agreeable to the king's former orders.

3. That no one ſhall carry their goods coming from *Surat*, *Periab*, and other places, into the cuſtom-houſe, but they ſhall be permitted to carry them home to their own houſes.

4. That the governors of *Surat* and *Ba-*

roche ſhall receive the duties from them, agreeable to the tenor of the *firmans* formerly granted.

XIII. The thirteenth, granted by the ſame prince, in the time of the Surat director, JOHN VAN TEYLINGEN, in the twenty-third year of his majeſty's reign, on the 21ſt of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, the year 1060 of the *Hegira*, or 1650 of our era, contains in ſubſtance;

That, upon complaints being made by the Dutch, the governor of *Bengal* is commanded, that no one ſhall exact more from them than is authoriſed by ancient cuſtom, and ſhall not introduce any new laws or cuſtoms on that head.

XIV. The fourteenth was granted by the ſame prince, in the time of the Surat director, GERARD PELGROM, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, on the 21ſt of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1063 of the *Hegira*, or 1654 of our era; and by it—

Every one throughout the empire of *Hindyſtan* is prohibited, after this *firman*, to extort any money from the Dutch, upon any pretence

pretence whatever, or for any reaſons before detailed, to moleſt them in any ſhape, or to oppreſs them by avaricious requiſitions.

XV. The fifteenth, granted by the emperor MORAD BAX, in the time of the proviſional chief at *Surat*, ISAAC KOEDYCK, on the 2d of the month *Jamadius Sanee*, in the year 1066 of the *Hegira*, or 1657 of the chriſtian era, contains the following articles:

1. The firſt article of the ſecond, and the third of the ſixth, *firman*, are hereby confirmed.

2. The Dutch may keep their *mokams*, or laydays, at whatever place they pleaſe, without being hindered or moleſted therein by any one.

XVI. The ſixteenth was granted by the emperor AURENGZEBE, to the Surat director, and ambaſſador from the Dutch Eaſt-India Company to the court of the great mogul, THEODORE VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the year of the *Hegira* 1071, or of the chriſtian era 1662, and contains the following articles:

1. That the Dutch ſhall be freed from the payment of the one per cent brokerage,

which was included in the 3½ per cent duty; and that therefore the duty to be paid by them ſhall thenceforward be no more than 2½ per cent, according to ancient cuſtom.

2. That upon the cloths and other goods, which they import into *Hindoſtan* from any place, and for which they purchaſe cottons, indigo, ſaltpetre, ſilks, and other merchandize, at *Agra* and other places, and carry them to *Surat* and *Baroche*, after the payment of two and a half per cent duty, according to ancient cuſtom, no one ſhall take from them more, either in *Surat* or in *Baroche*, or ſhall moleſt them in any thing.

3. The third article of the ſecond, and the third article of the third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

4. That they may purchaſe goods from whomſoever they pleaſe.

5. The firſt article of the ſecond, and the firſt article of the twelfth, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

6. That no one ſhall require of them that they ſhall carry the copper which they import to the mint; but, upon payment of the cuſtomary duty, they ſhall have full liberty to convey that article to every part of

Hindoſtan,

Hindoſtan, and to diſpoſe of it to whom they pleaſe; and the purchaſer of the ſame ſhall equally not be moleſted on that account; in order that they may with confidence and ſafety bring much copper into the country, according to their promiſes, and that there may always be a plentiful ſtock of that metal on hand.

7. That the merchants and others who owe them money, ſhall not delay the payment thereof; but that the governors ſhall take care that they recover their money, and that no one ſhall aſſiſt their debtors to evade the payment.

8. That, if among the horſes which they import, there ſhall be any fit for the king, and he ſhall take them, that they ſhall be paid for at the market-price; and that with reſpect to the others, the proprietors ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of them wherever they may judge moſt proper, without being compelled to ſell them at *Surat*.

9. That in any caſe when the prices to be paid for ſuch horſes as may be ſelected for the king cannot be agreed upon, thoſe horſes ſhall be ſent to the court, with a ſeal about their necks, under the care of confiden-

tial perſons, in order that the king's ſervants may determine upon the price, and remit the money.

10. That no one ſhall interdict them, if any merchants chooſe to go by their ſhips to *Baſſora*, or other places, paying their paſſage to take them on board; but they ſhall freely be allowed to go; and they ſhall equally have liberty to take on board goods, and to carry them over.

11. The firſt article of the fourth *firman* is hereby confirmed.

XVII. The ſeventeenth, granted by the ſame emperor, AURENGZEBE, to the abovementioned ambaſſador, VAN ADRICHEM, in the fifth year of his majeſty's reign, on the 5th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the year 1071 of the *Hegira*, or 1662 of our era, orders:

1. That the governor of *Agra* ſhall not trouble the Dutch on account of the duties and other charges which are taken in *Montaaſabad*, nor on account of brokerage on purchaſes, nor claim the brokerage of the ſeller, otherwiſe than according to ancient cuſtom.

2. That the firſt, ſecond, and ſixth articles of the third; the firſt article of the fourth; the

the firſt and third articles of the twelfth; and the fourth and ſeventh articles of the ſixteenth, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed. As likewiſe the third article of the ſixth *firman*, with this addition, that no one ſhall trouble them for any *rahadarees*, or charges of the road, except upon what is forbidden at the court of the king, namely, wine and ſpirituous liquors.

XVIII. The eighteenth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, at the ſame time, comprizes—

A repetition and confirmation of the laſt article of the preceding, and of the third article of the ſixth, *firmans*; and ordains, that no obſtacles ſhall be raiſed to the Dutch in the importation and exportation of their merchandize.

XIX. The nineteenth, given by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, on the 15th of the month *Rebbi-ul-auwel*, in the ſame year, grants:

1. That the Dutch arriving with their ſhips before *Hougly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballaſore*, ſhall have liberty to anchor in ſuch places as they may chooſe.

2. That after paynient of the fixed duty

of

of two and a half per cent upon their goods, they may convey them to ſuch places as they pleaſe; ſell them to whatever merchant they chooſe; purchaſe again goods from the ſame, in the manner they may like beſt, and employ brokers in their buſineſs, according to their own choice, without that any one ſhall be permitted to intrude himſelf into their ſervice, contrary to their liking.

3. That with reſpect to the piecegoods, ſaltpetre, ſugar, ſilk, wax, and other articles, for which they trade in the places ſituated in the provinces of *Bahar*, *Bengal*, and *Orixa*, and which they convey for exportation to the ports of *Hougly*, *Pipley*, and *Ballaſore*, they ſhall not in any wiſe be moleſted.

4. That no one ſhall trouble them, on paſſing and repaſſing, for any charges of the road, except upon what is prohibited at the court of the King, namely, wine and ſpirituous liquors; but that, on the contrary, every one ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting them therein, and ſhall ſhew them all friendſhip, in order that they may be enabled to diſpatch their ſhips with eaſe and ſafety.

5. That

5. That their veſſels ſhall not be liable to be preſſed into the imperial ſervice.

6. That all merchants and others ſhall not ſeek for delays in ſatisfying their debts; but that, on the other hand, the governors ſhall aſſiſt the Dutch in recovering their claims, and ſhall not ſuffer any one to afford protection or concealment to their debtors.

7. That thoſe Dutch who may have occaſion to travel through the king's dominions, for the tranſaction of their buſineſs, ſhall be allowed to travel as much, and no more, than they think fit per day, and to halt or reſt whenever, and wherever, they chooſe, without any one being allowed to moleſt them herein.

XX. The twentieth, iſſued by the ſame emperor, AURENGZEBE, during the time of MOBITCHAR, governor of *Surat*, in the ſeventh year of his majeſty's reign, in the year 1073 of the *Hegira*, or 1664 of our era, contains;

1. An order to the governor of *Surat*, that the Dutch ſhall be exempt during one year from paying of cuſtom duty, on account

count of the courageous repulſe of the troops of *Seva Gi* *.

2. That one half per cent, out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ duty due to the king, ſhall be taken off from the ſaid duty, in favour of the Dutch and Engliſh; and the government of *Surat* is in conſequence ordered to take no more than two per cent upon their merchandize from that time forwards.

XXI. The twenty-firſt was granted by the ſame emperor, at the time that JOHN BACHERUS was our ambaſſador at the mogul's court, in the thirty-third year of his majeſty's reign, on the 12th of the month *Moherm*, in the year 1099 of the *Hegira*, or 1690 of the Chriſtian era, and contains—

The grant to the Company of *Eerjam*, with the five villages belonging to it, comprized under *Palliacatta*, in the province of *Ispahabad*.

XXII. The twenty-ſecond, granted by the emperor SHAH ALEM, at the time of

* A noted rebel during the reign of AURENGZEBE, who, however, by VALENTYN's account, plundered and burnt the city of [illegible], in the year 1664. He died in the year 1680, but it was not till 1692 that AURENGZEBE ſubdued his ſons, who had ſucceeded him, both in his rebellion, and in his deeds of rapine. *T.*

th

the Surat director, JOHN GROTENHUIS, and at the requeſt of the governor of *Surat*, AMANET CHAN, in the ſecond year of his majeſty's reign, on the 19th of the month *Sikaard*, in the year 1120 of the *Hegira*, or 1709 of the Chriſtian era, determines:

1. That of the twenty lacks of rupees taken by force, by the merchants of *Surat*, from the Dutch, eight lacks and eleven thouſand rupees ſhall be repaid to them.

2. That thenceforward no more than two and a half per cent duty ſhall be charged to them.

3. That the one and a half per cent additional duty charged to them at *Baroche* ſhall ceaſe.

4. That all who travel through *Hindoſtan*, belonging to, and in behalf of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, as alſo brokers and others travelling on buſineſs, ſhall not be importuned for any *rahadarees*, or other charges.

5. That all the governors and other officers belonging to the diſtrict of *Hougly* are ordered not to exact double duty; but that they, according to cuſtom, ſhall continue, as at *Surat*, to take 2½ per cent duty.

6. That, according to ancient cuſtom, a place

place in the city ſhall be granted to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company for their uſe in carrying on their trade, and likewiſe another for a reſidence for their chief, within the city, or in the garden.

XXIII. The twenty-third was granted by the emperor JEHAAN DAAR SHAH, to the *Surat* director and ambaſſador, in behalf of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, to the mogul court, JOHN JOSIAH KETELAAR, in the firſt year of his majeſty's reign, on the 14th of the month *Redje-bul-moredjab*, in the year 1123 of the *Hegira*, or 1712 of our era, by which

All the privileges granted by the eight firſt articles of the ſixteenth *firman*, are confirmed and granted anew; and further—

1. That no one ſhall claim any duty of the Dutch, upon the importation, or exportation, either by water or by land, of any goods intended for their own uſe, as clothes, conſumables, neceſſaries, wrought gold and ſilver, manufactured copper, jewels, all kinds of victuals and proviſions, &c.

2. That if there are any of the Dutch who abſent or conceal themſelves, or deſert, from the Company's ſervice, the governors ſhall be bound to ſeize and arreſt them

them, and to reſtore them to the Company.

3. That they ſhall not be liable to the demands of the collectors of the *jieſia*, or head-money.

4. That the houſe of the deceaſed ETTABAAR CHAN ſhall be given to the Company's ſervants for their reſidence for ever, upon the condition, however, that no angles or embraſures ſhall be made to it, nor any great or ſmall guns conveyed into it, and that no other additions ſhall be made to it than that of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouſes for houſing of merchandize, or any other neceſſary repairs.

5. That no one ſhall moleſt them on account of the ten or twelve horſes which they annually import, and which are not worthy of the king's notice.

XXIV. The twenty-fourth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, at the ſame time, orders;

1. That the governors of *Ecbar-abad* ſhall not moleſt the Dutch on account of any *rahadarees*, charges, or any thing elſe, which may be taken in *Montaas-abad*; nor ſhall they claim the dues of brokerage from the

the ſeller, but ſhall continue to claim them, according to cuſtom, from the purchaſer.

2. That their goods ſhall not be carried into the cuſtom-houſe, nor ſhall any thing be claimed from them, according to ancient uſage.

And further, the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixth articles of the ſecond; the firſt article of the fourth; the ſeventh article of the ſixteenth; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed, and granted anew.

XXV. The twenty-fifth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, in the ſame year, on the 15th of the month *Redjebal-moreddjah*, contains merely—

The confirmation and renewal of the ſecond article of the ſecond; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the firſt article of the twenty-third, *firmans*.

XXVI. The twenty-ſixth, granted by the ſame prince to the ſaid ambaſſador, in the ſame year, on the 17th of the month *Sabaan*, orders;

1. That, according to cuſtom, no duty ſhall be paid upon the merchandize and other goods, which the Dutch diſpoſe of

in

in *Agra*, *Dehly*, and other places, being brought through the province of *Amedabad*; neither on the cotton-cloths, and other goods, which they may purchaſe at *Cambaya*, *Patan*, *Dolthabad*, *Brodera*, *Baroche*, and other places, and which they carry to *Surat*; as the duty upon the ſame is paid upon their entry at *Surat*, being two and a half per cent.

2. The firſt and third articles of the ſecond; the firſt article of the fourth; the fourth and ſeventh articles of the ſixteenth; the laſt article of the ſeventeenth; and the ſecond article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

3. That the imperial officers, governors, jaqueerdars *, and others, belonging to the government of *Amedabad*, ſhall not be allowed to moleſt them (the Dutch) upon the conveyance of their goods, through their province.

4. That nothing ſhall be taken upon the goods, intended by the Dutch for their own

* *Jaqueerdar* is the holder of a *jaqueer*, or territory granted for a particular uſe, either to maintain a number of troops, or keep a fort in repair, and ſometimes as a penſion. *T.*

conſumption, or clothing, whether imported by water or by land.

5. The ſixth article of the ſecond; the ſeventh article of the nineteenth; and the third article of the twenty-third, *firmans*, are hereby confirmed.

XXVII. The twenty-ſeventh was granted by the ſame prince to the aforeſaid ambaſſador, KETELAAR, in the ſame year, on the 14th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, and contains;

1. Not only the renewal and confirmation of all that was granted by the ſeven firſt articles of the nineteenth *firman*, but likewiſe,

2. That the governors of *Patna*, *Moorſhedabad*, and ſuch places as are ſituated upon the river *Ganges* down to *Hougly*, ſhall not claim of the Dutch any duty on the goods which they may purchaſe in *Bahar*, and convey, either by water or by land, to *Hougly*, as the ſame ſhall be taken at *Hougly*, at the rate of two and a half per cent.

3. The confirmation of the ſecond article of the twenty-third *firman*.

4. That upon the purchaſes of ſaltpetre, opium,

opium, piecegoods, ſugar, and other wares, the appointed duty of two and a half per cent ſhall be paid at *Hougly*, and nothing more claimed of the Company, nor ſhall they be at all moleſted on that head.

5. That the governors, and guards upon the roads, ſhall not claim any *rahadarees*, or charges of the roads, from the Dutch, in paſſing and repaſſing, nor hinder them at all therein.

6. That the veſſels, and authorized ſervants of the Company, provided with paſſes from the director in *Bengal*, and loaden with goods for ſale or barter, ſhall not by any means be liable to be preſſed in the territories of the king: neither ſhall they be detained or ſuffer any exactions, either upon arrival or departure, on the part of any fauſdars *, collectors of the revenue, governors, or officers of the ſea-coaſt.

7. That the governors ſhall lend their aſſiſtance to the Company, for the obtaining of what may be due to them by the

* *Fauſdar*, an officer in all great cities, appointed by the emperor, who has charge of the police, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. Sometimes it is one who receives the rents from the *zemindars*, or landholders, and accounts to the government for them. *T.*

weavers, dyers, or others; and ſhall not prevent them from employing ſuch ſervants, brokers, &c. in their ſervice and trade, as they themſelves chooſe.

8. That the governors and magiſtrates ſhall in all places ſhew amity to the authorized ſervants of the Company, and ſhall attend to their complaints, and ſee that juſtice be done to them.

9. That the houſe of the deceaſed NOUR ALLA CHAN, ſituated in the city of *Patna*, ſhall be given to the Company's ſervants, for their reſidence for ever; upon condition, nevertheleſs, that no angles or embraſures ſhall be made to it, nor any great or ſmall guns conveyed into it, and that no additions ſhall be made to it, unleſs of chambers wanted for dwelling-places, or of warehouſes for houſing of merchandize, or other neceſſary repairs.

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth, granted by the ſame prince to the aforementioned ambaſſador, KETELAAR, in the ſame year, on the 12th of the month *Redje bul mored jab*, contains;

A confirmio n of the third article of the ſixth; of the ſecond and third articles of the

the twenty-third; of the fifth and ſeventh articles of the twenty-ſeventh; and of the ceſſion mentioned in the twenty-firſt, *firmans*; likewiſe, that no one ſhall prohibit them (the Dutch) from taking into their employ ſuch perſons as they chooſe to make uſe of for their trade.

XXIX. The twenty-ninth, given by the emperor, MOHAMMED SHAH, during the time of the *Surat* director, PETER LAWRENCE RHOON, in the ninth year of his majeſty's reign, being the year 1140 of the *Hegira*, or 1729 of our era, grants;

1. That all *firmans* iſſued from time to time, by former emperors, with reſpect to the duties to be paid upon the goods of the Dutch, or otherwiſe, ſhall remain in force, and that no one ſhall claim of them more than is thereby fixed.

2. That the director of *Surat* ſhall be permitted to purchaſe, for his own money, ground in the *Jenhi bander*, within the outer city-walls of *Surat*, by the riverſide, and to erect buildings upon it for houſing of merchandize, and that no one ſhall prevent him from ſo doing, or moleſt him therein.

The above contains the ſubſtance of all the *firmans* granted to our Company, which were all accurately tranſlated out of the Perſian into the Dutch language, by the order, and during the adminiſtration, of Mr. JOHN SCHREUDER, director of *Surat*, and afterwards councellor of *India*.

From them it appears that the trade of the Dutch Company in the empire of *Hindoſtan*, has, from time to time, been encouraged with ſuch extraordinary privileges, as if they were, and even more than as if they were, natives of the country, and the prince's own ſubjects, who has taken them under his ſpecial protection, againſt the oppreſſions and extortions of his lieutenants, governors, &c.

He deſiſts, in favour of the Company, from a kind of *droit d'aubaine*, which equally exiſts here as in France; he withdraws the deciſion of any diſputes that may ariſe amongſt themſelves from the local judges, and veſts it in themſelves; and he abſolves them from all conſtraint in matters of religion.

It is, however, certain, that ſeveral of theſe privileges have now and then been infringed;

infringed; and hence ariſe the frequent repetitions and confirmations of particular articles in the ſeveral *firmans*, by which may be evidently ſeen, the inſtability of the authority of the Mogul emperors over their ſubjects.

And as none of theſe monarchs, during the ſpace of one hundred and eleven years, in which theſe charters, or letters patent were iſſued, aſcended the throne by hereditary or legal right, but only by the law of the ſtrongeſt, it appears that, in conſequence, the reigning prince did not look upon the *firmans* granted by his predeceſſor as obligatory upon himſelf, and that the Company did not think themſelves ſecure till they had obtained the confirmation of them from him, by a new *firman:* and as at the courts of all the oriental monarchs, and eſpecially at that of the great mogul, nothing can be obtained without conſiderable preſents, the expence of procuring theſe *firmans* would have been inſupportable to the Company, had not fortune ſo directed it, that the monarchs they had to apply to enjoyed very long reigns, of whom SHAH JEHAAN, and his ſon AURENGZEBE, to-

gether, held the reins of government for full eighty-one years.

However valuable, and of whatever importance, Mr. SHREUDER conſidered theſe *firmans* to be in his time, they are, however, at preſent, of little value, as the mogul emperor poſſeſſes no more power, even over his own perſon, than the tyranny of the Engliſh will allow to him; yet they have ſolemnly engaged to guarantee thoſe privileges to us; on which ſubject I ſhall be more explicit hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.

The principal Factories formerly belonging to the Direction of SURAT — *viz. in* PERSIA — *at* MOCHA — *at* WINGURLA — *at* AGRA — *at* AMEDABAD — *at* BAROCHE — *at* CHIRCLES *and* BRODERA — *at* CAMBAYA. — *Short Account of ſome of thoſe Places.—Reaſons of the Decline of the Dutch Trade at* SURAT.—*Great Profits formerly made.— Preſent Profits, &c.—Plans for the Improvement of the Dutch Trade in this Country.— Blameable Inactivity of Mr.* TAILLEFERT *during the Revolution of* 1759. — *Injuries and vexatious Proceedings of the Engliſh towards the Dutch.*

THE principal factories which formerly belonged to the direction of *Surat*, were thoſe of *Perſia* *, *Mocha*, *Wingurla*, *Agra*, *Amedabad*, *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Brodera*, *Chircees*, &c. "And it appears to me," ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, in his memorial addreſſed to

* The Dutch had formerly factories at *Gombroon*, *Baſſora*, *Laar*, *Schiras*, and *Iſpahan* in *Perſia*, but their trade to that country has been for ſeveral years entirely abandoned. *T.*

Mr.

Mr. PECOCK, his ſucceſſor in the direction at *Surat*, " that before the Company had any " ſettled eſtabliſhment at *Ceylon*, or on the " coaſt of *Malabar*, *Surat* was the chief place " and ſtaple of their whole trade carried on " throughout this part of the Indian ſea; " but it did not long remain ſo; our factory " at *Surat* very ſoon decreaſed in importance, " and this will appear moſt evident if we " take a nearer view of the ſituation of each " ſubordinate factory."

" Thoſe of *Perſia*, or *Gombroon*, as this de- " partment was called in the books of the " Company, from the principal factory they " had in that country, eſtabliſhed in the year " 1622, were conſtituted into an independent " ſettlement in 1633, and put immediately " under *Batavia*. The expences of the navi- " gation between *Gaſſira* and *Batavia*, uſed " to be charged to the account of *Surat*, but " no longer than the year 1670, when that " place was put entirely under *Gombroon*."

" The factory at *Mocha* was eſtabliſhed in " the year 1620, after two tranſitory expe- " ditions of trade had been made thither: it " has frequently been abandoned, and as

" often

" often re-eſtabliſhed; but in the year 1686, " it was equally put under the immediate " ſuperintendence of *Batavia*."

" The factory at *Wingurla*, may have been " eſtabliſhed about the year 1655 *; but, in " the year 1677, it was taken away from " the direction of *Surat*, and added to the " commandery of *Malabar*."

" The factory at *Agra*, was eſtabliſhed " in the year 1620, but was abandoned in " the year 1716, in ſo far, that all the " European ſervants, the effects of the Com- " pany, &c. were removed from it, and only " three or four natives left there, to keep " the lodge, and in order that we might " always be entitled to re-enter into the poſ- " ſeſſion of it, if that be ever again thought " neceſſary."

" The factory at *Amedabad* † was eſta- " bliſhed

* There is a letter extant from the king of *Viſiapour*, in whoſe dominions *Wingurla*, a place on the *Malabar* coaſt, not far north of *Goa*, lay, by which it appears that the Dutch Company had reſident merchants there as early as 1641; and in a letter from their factors there, written in 1653, they ſay they had been ſeventeen or eighteen years ſettled there in the ſervice of the Company. *T.*

† *Amedabad*, the mahomedan capital of *Guzurat*, is ſaid to have received its name from AHMED, one of the firſt kings of the

" bliſhed in the year 1618, but was aban-
" doned in the year 1744, and left on the
" ſame footing as that at *Agra*."

" The factory at *Baroche* * was eſtabliſhed
" in

the country; but it is not improbable that it is the *Amadavijis* of ARRIAN. It is ſituated in 23½° north latitude, on the eaſt bank of the *Sabremutty*, a ſmall, yet pleaſant, wholeſome, and conſtant ſtream. The walls, which ſtill remain, are about ſix miles in circumference, and there is a very wide and deep ditch carried all round them. Beſides this ditch, new works have been ſince conſtructed, where the original defences, either from decay, or ſituation, were judged inſufficient. There are twelve gateways to paſs in and out of the city. Theſe gateways, and other parts of the wall, appear to have been fortified and adorned, at regular diſtances, with towers and cupolas, which, in the days of its ſplendour, muſt have equally contributed to ſtrength and magnificent appearance. Within the city, and upon the banks of the river, there is an extenſive incloſure, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Bunder*, which was formerly the royal reſidence; it was ſtrongly fortified in former times, and when VALENTYN wrote, it was thought by the Moors to be the ſecureſt fortreſs in all *Hindoſtan*, next to thoſe of *Cabul* and *Candahar*. THEVENOT and VALENTYN give copious accounts of the magnificence of the moſques, and other public buildings, which in their time adorned the city of *Amedabad*. Without the walls, the ſuburbs, as is evident from their veſtiges, muſt have extended to the diſtance of three miles round. But *Amedabad* has ſo greatly declined from its original ſplendour, that at this day not more than a quarter of the ſpace, within the walls, is inhabited. *T.*

* *Baroche*, or *Barocia*, lies upon the river *Nerbedab*, about twenty-five miles from its mouth; halfway between the

town

"in the year 1617, and is ſtill continued, "yet with very little circumſtance, for there "is but one junior merchant, and one book-"keeper, who reſide there as factors, and "who have a few native ſervants under "them."

"Our factories at *Chircees* * and *Brodera* † "were eſtabliſhed in the year 1620, as was "that

town and the ſea, the river divides itſelf into two branches, and forms a long and narrow iſland, on each ſide of which they run into the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the directions of E.S.E. and W.S.W. where there is an open road for ſhips in ſeven fathoms, moſtly ſandy bottom. The fortreſs of *Baroche* is large and ſquare, ſtanding upon a hill, which is the only eminence for many miles around, and might be made very ſtrong. Very fine bafts and other cottons are manufactured here; and the water of the river *Nerbedah* is ſaid to have a peculiar property for bleaching of cloth to a perfect whiteneſs. Agates are likewiſe an article of trade at *Baroche*, which are brought from the mountains near *Brampour*, and are moſtly diſpoſed of at *Cambaya*. *T.*

* *Chircees*, or *Chirchees*, is a ſmall town, about a league and a half from *Amedabad*. It has a great number of tombs of the kings and princes of *Guzurat*, whence the Indians believe that it was, in ancient times, the capital of that kingdom; but it is more probable that it was only the burying-place of their kings, and that *Amedabad* was always their capital. The factory which the Dutch had here was eſtabliſhed for the ſake of purchaſing indigo. *T.*

† *Brodera*, ſituate upon the little river *Dader*, is a modern town, in compariſon with the others, having been built by the

" that at *Cambaya* *, though the laſt may " be ſaid to have been begun in the year " 1617: but theſe three were all entirely " abandoned before the year 1670, although, " for want of the neceſſary papers, the exact

the ſon of the laſt king of *Guzurat*, near the ſcite of an ancient town, formerly called *Radipore*, but now *Old Brodera*, which is now entirely gone to decay. It ſtands in a very fertile, though ſandy, country. It has pretty good walls and towers, and is full of artizans, who make the fineſt ſtuffs of all *Guzurat*, baſts, nicanees cannaquins, cheloes, &c.; the cottons of *Brodera* are even finer than thoſe of *Barocle*; but they are narrower and ſhorter. Indigo is alſo an article of trade here. *T.*

* *Cambaya* is a large city, lying at the bottom of the gulph of the ſame name, upon the north bank of the river *Canari*, which by ſome is called the *Mahi*. The tides are ſo ſwift at the north end of the gulph, that a horſe, at full ſpeed, cannot keep pace with the firſt waves; in the river they riſe with great rapidity ſeven fathoms in ordinary tides, and at high water, ſhips can anchor near the town, but at low water, the river runs entirely dry, except three or four narrow channels, in which there remains about three feet water, ſo that the veſſels in the river muſt lie quite aground, though they do not ſuffer much in that ſituation, from the bottom not being hard or ſandy. The city is twice as large as *Surat*, but not near ſo populous. The ſtreets are large, and have all gates at the ends, which are ſhut in the night-time, and there are twelve gates to the city, beſides thoſe of the ſtreets, which are innumerable. There is a great trade carried on at *Cambaya*, by the Mooriſh, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with *Perſia*, *Mocha*, *Diu*, *Acheen*, *Coromandel*, and other places. *T.*

" year

" year of their abandonment cannot be de-
" terminately pointed out."

" Thus, out of all theſe factories, the chief,
" ſuch as thoſe at *Gombroon*, *Baſſora*, *Mocha*,
" and *Wingurla*, have been taken away from
" the direction of *Surat*, and either rendered
" independent, or put under ſome other head-
" ſettlement: the others have, indeed, been
" left to *Surat*, and are ſtill reckoned to be
" under its juriſdiction, but their number and
" conſequence are ſo diminiſhed, that that of
" *Baroche* alone may be looked upon as really
" in exiſtence; while thoſe of *Agra* and
" *Amedabad* are merely nominal in the books
" of the Company, and the charges which
" are annually paid for them, would be
" wholly ſuperfluous, were they not incurred
" to retain poſſeſſion of the lodges or factory-
" houſes there, in order that our right to
" them may be kept alive." So far goes the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER before alluded to.

The factory of *Surat* has always been, with juſtice, conſidered as one of the moſt advantageous eſtabliſhments of the Company in India. The goods which they brought to market there, having become, by the luxury

of

of the Moors, articles of the firſt neceſſity, always met a ready vent; and as the Company were the excluſive importers of them, they made whatever prices they choſe to require, or could command, according to the more or leſs quantity they might pleaſe to import.

In the ſtatement of the profits made by the Company's trade to *Surat*, during a period of about eighty years, commencing in the years 1662-1663, and terminating in the years 1749-1750, annexed to the before-mentioned memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, addreſſed to his ſucceſſor, Mr. PECOCK, I find, that in the firſt ten years, from 1662-1663, to 1673-1674, of which the profits for the years 1671-1672, and 1673-1674, could not be computed, as the books of thoſe years were wanting, they amounted upon an average annually to 520$\frac{11}{12}$ per cent upon the finer ſpices, being in money a yearly ſum gained upon them alone, of *f.*334,560. 9. 8. *

And for the ten years, from 1688-1689, to 1697-1698, they yielded every year, upon an average, 850$\frac{5}{6}$ per cent gain, or in money the ſum of *f.*509,464. 1. 2. †, while

* Or about £.30,415 ſterling. *T.*

† About £.46,315 ſterling. *T.*

in

in thoſe ten years a further annual average profit of *f.*255,929. 3. 5.* was made upon the other goods, although only in the proportion of 59$\frac{3}{4}$ per cent upon their prime coſt.

But theſe profits gradually decreaſed after that period. Thoſe upon the ſpices have, indeed, rendered a higher proportion per cent, and in the year 1731-1732, they were even 2400 per cent upon the prime coſt; but the conſumption was, on the other hand, ſo ſmall, that in the ten years, in which that extraordinary proportion of gain appeared, namely, from 1730-1731, to 1739-1740, the real annual average profit, in money, ſcarcely amounted to one-fifth part of the ſums before made with a leſſer advance upon the prime coſt †.

The

* About £.23,266 ſterling. T.

† By VALENTYN's account, the Dutch formerly gained at *Surat*,

upon cloves,	665$\frac{113}{120}$	per cent,
upon nutmegs,	1453$\frac{1}{8}$	per cent,
upon mace,	718$\frac{193}{320}$	per cent,
upon copper in bars,	128$\frac{3}{8}$	per cent,
upon ditto in plates,	31$\frac{141}{320}$	per cent,
upon benzoin,	42	per cent,
upon gumlack,	34$\frac{73}{180}$	per cent,
upon quickſilver,	27$\frac{7}{8}$	per cent,
upon vermillion,	19$\frac{7}{32}$	per cent,

The great decreaſe in the profits, under the laſt adminiſtration, which are not b

one-

The other articles imported were, cinnamon, pepper, camphor, cardemom, aloes, ſuccotrine, areca, ſapanwood, elephant's teeth, ſandalwood, woollen cloths, tin, lead in ſheets, cowries, tea, china, ſugar, coral in branches, radix china, ebony, &c.; and in return they purchaſed various kinds of piece-goods, as gold and ſilver allegars, and common ditto, 120 ps. per bale; chintzes cheron; broad and narrow chintzes; blue bafts of *Amedabad*, half ditto, ditto, 200 ps. per bale; narrow white bafts of *Baroche*, 160 ps. per bale; black fine ditto, 1200 ps. per bale; broad white ditto, 100 ps. per bale; ſilk chindoes, 160 ps. per bale; black cannequins, per pack of 4 ps.; white ditto, 400 ps. per bale; quilted cottons, per pack of 4 ps.; nicanees, 120 ps. per bale; petolas, or painted ſilks; choutarees deriabadys of *Agra*, 70 ps. per bale; mammoodies of *Talalpour*, 60 and 55 ps. per bale, &c. likewiſe indigo from *Agra* by packs of 4 maunds of 53 *lb.* each; indigo chircees per 4 maunds of *Amedabad*, at 34½ *lb.* per maund; candied mirabolans, 69 *lb.* or 2 maunds, in a bladder; hing, or aſſa fœtida, per maund of 40 *lb.*; raſmala, or borax; opium of *Malva*, per pack of 99½ *lb.*; ſoap of *Surat*, 225 *lb.* per cheſt; red ſealing wax of *Surat*, 5 [illegible] *lb.* per box; cotton-yarn, wheat, &c. And the clear profits of the head-factory amounted yearly to ſix or ſeven tons of gold (£.55,000 to £.64,000 ſterling). Governor MOSSEL recommended the proſecution of the trade from *Batavia* to *Surat*, and that two large ſhips ſhould be annually diſpatched with 80,000 *lb.* of cloves, 30,000 *lb.* of nutmegs, 3,000 *lb* of mace, 2,000 *lb* of cinnamon, 200,000 *lb.* of Japan copper, 100,000 *lb.* of tin, and 2,000 000 *lb.* of ſugar, both raw and candied, which he calculated as the yearly conſumption of *Surat*, and whereupon he reckoned that about *f.*800,000 (£ 73,000 ſterling), might be gained; but matters

have

one-half, as much as thoſe under Mr. SENF, againſt which the charges have only diminiſhed about ſeven thouſand gilders, may principally be attributed to the civil commotions, and diſtracted ſtate of the country, whereby the expedition of goods has been greatly obſtructed, and is ſtill very difficult; one cauſe muſt likewiſe be ſought in the decay of the city of *Surat* itſelf; and another in the ſmall number of ſhips and ſcanty ſupplies that are ſent thither from *Batavia*, and which are, ſometimes, even confined to a ſolitary cargo *.

This

have much altered ſince his time here, as well as in every part of India. *T.*

* From theſe untoward circumſtances, it has more than once been in the contemplation of the Dutch Company to remove their *Surat* trade entirely to the coaſt of *Malabar* and particularly to *Cochin*, where, being the territorial ſovereigns, they might have neither the rapacious exactions of a Mooriſh government, nor the ſucceſsful rivalry of enterpriſing competitors, to fear; but HUYSERS attributes the decline of their *Surat* trade more to the laſt circumſtance mentioned in the text, namely, the little activity of the trade from *Batavia*, than to any of the others, and conceives, that if a more abundant ſupply of ſpices, Japan copper, and Jaccatra ſugar, were ſent forward, the quantity of which had of late years been remarkably deficient, the profits of the *Surat* trade would again become very conſiderable; as upon every cargo of thoſe arti-

This decline of *Surat* itſelf is, in the firſt place, a conſequence of the almoſt total annihilation of the power and authority of the mogul emperors, by which many of the native rajahs and nations have riſen into conſideration, particularly the Marattas, and having ſhaken off the mogul yoke, have aſſumed the ſovereign authority themſelves. Hence they have either ſeized upon every thing that paſſed through their dominions, or if they did not do this, they at leaſt have exacted heavy contributions from the merchants, under the denomination of duties, and have even, as we have before ſeen, laid the city of *Surat* under contribution.

Secondly, the proximity of *Bombay*, has

cles a clear gain of at leaſt 40 per cent, may be rationally calculated upon. In 1779, the books of the factory at *Surat* were cloſed with an advance of *f.*283,207 (about *£.*25,746 ſterling), being after deduction of all the charges, with exception of thoſe of one or two ſhips ſent thither from *Batavia*, which may amount to about *f.*100,000.—ſo that the clear gains may ſcarcely be ſaid to amount to two tons of gold, (about *£.*18,000 ſterling). In that year the goods ſent to *Surat* were no more than 1,715,718 *lb.* of ſugar, 20,002 lb. of cloves, and a ſmall quantity of nutmegs and mace. The only articles ſent to Europe out of the returns from *Surat*, are gamboge, cotton-yarn, and cotton-cloths, of which laſt the value of *f.*260,000 (about *£.*23,636 ſterling) was ſold in Holland in the year 1778. *T.*

been

been of great prejudice to *Surat*; that ſettlement, on the other hand, flouriſhes more and more, from day to day, owing to the entire liberty of exportation which is there allowed. Foreign merchants do not ſuffer oppreſſion there, but are favoured and encouraged: protection and ſecurity are afforded them both by water and by land. *Bombay* is likewiſe ſituated nearer to the *Deckan* than *Surat*, and to this it muſt chiefly be attributed, that the entire commerce of that wealthy country has been diverted to the Engliſh ſettlement, from *Surat*, which formerly enjoyed all the advantages of it.

In the third place, the decay of *Surat* is not a little owing to the ſuperiority which the Engliſh have attained there ſince the laſt revolution. The arrogant and arbitrary conduct of that nation, makes the merchants averſe to engage in extenſive enterprizes of trade, and the capitaliſts are afraid of putting out their money to intereſt, or of riſking it in the operation of commerce.

Exiſting facts are ſufficient to prove, that if they cannot turn the current of trade according to their own choice, and to the advantage of their own pockets, they will endeavour

deavour to impede it by all the obſtacles, which a deſpotic authority puts in their power. I have myſelf experienced their ſelfiſh conduct in this reſpect; the Engliſh chief, their counceller SITTON, and the nabob, caused an interdiction to be laid upon all the native merchants, that they ſhould not purchaſe of me any of the articles I had brought with me in private trade, and eſpecially not any ſugar, in order that I might be compelled to ſell them at the rates which they might chooſe to give for them; and they even engaged the concurrence, in this reſpect, of the chief perſons in our direction, that they might equally prohibit the Company's brokers, who are otherwiſe the chief merchants, from purchaſing of me.

By theſe, and many other unjuſt, or let me rather ſay, iniquitous methods, the trade of this formerly ſo flouriſhing emporium, which was juſtly eſteemed the moſt conſiderable commercial place of India, runs to decay from day to day; and this, to all appearances, quadrates exactly with the ſecret views which may be ſuppoſed to actuate the members of the government at *Bombay*; namely, to compel the merchants, by means of the oppreſſions

oppreſſions and difficulties to which they are ſubjected here, to have recourſe to *Bombay*: for it cannot otherwiſe be reconciled to the maxims of prudence or policy, that ſuch unexampled extortions ſhould be ſuffered to prevail in a ſubordinate factory, of which they cannot pretend ignorance, by reaſon of its proximity, and the notoriety of them, if there were no latent motives to encourage or tolerate ſuch proceedings.

Our director, Mr. SENF, taking theſe circumſtances into conſideration, was of opinion, that it might be more advantageous for the intereſts of the Company, to uſe endeavours to get poſſeſſion of ſome place, ſomewhere in the neighbourhood of *Bombay*, where we might ourſelves be at hand to deal with the merchants of the *Deckan*, and thereby draw them again from their habits of reſorting to the Engliſh for their ſupplies of our commodities.

That gentleman did not let the matter reſt merely as an opinion, but he alſo was examining into the feaſibility of putting his ideas in practice, when a very fit opportunity preſented itſelf for that purpoſe, which was as follows:

One RANASSOIR SINAY, who had, for a long time, reſided at *Bombay*, as the repreſentative of the Maratta chief MADUROW, met with ſome ill treatment there, about the year 1767, and being, on that account, incenſed againſt the Engliſh, he wrote a a letter to Mr. SENF, in which he not only complained bitterly of their inſupportable arrogance, but likewiſe intimated that there might now be an opportunity for the Dutch Compamy to attain what he knew they had long wiſhed for, namely, the eſtabliſhment of a factory at *Bazaim*, or thereabouts, and this gave occaſion to a treaty between them: all which may be better underſtood from the extract of Mr. SENF's memorial on that head, from ſection XV to ſection XVIII incluſive, and the documents referred to thereby.

Mr. SENF had before caſt his thoughts towards ſome places in the gulph of *Cambaya*, and particularly upon *Goga* *, whither he had ſent a committee in the year 1765, who, under the appearance of a party of pleaſure,

* *Goga* is a little town on the weſtern ſide of the gulph of *Camlaya*, about twenty-eight or thirty leagues from *Cambaya*, and which THEVENOT ſays abounds with banians and ſeamen. T.

ſurveyed

ſurveyed the places in that neighbourhood, and the iſland *Peram*. But nothing reſulted herefrom, as a ſafe anchoring-place for ſhips had no where been found: and there were other circumſtances, on account of which this project could not be ſtrongly inſiſted upon *.

But before I depart from this ſubject, I muſt remark, that, how great ſoever the influence and power of the Engliſh may have been, at the time of the revolution of 1750, yet they would never have been able to obtain poſſeſſion of the caſtle, or to have got the authority ſo much in their own hands as they have done, had they not perſuaded Mr. TAILLEFERT, our director at that time, to remain entirely inactive, and to let them do as they liked, without interruption.

It muſt, however, appear ſurpriſing to every one, that a man of a ſound underſtanding, as that gentleman was ſaid to poſſeſs, did not make any uſe of the reſpectable force which he had, at that time, at his diſpoſal, both in ſhips and in troops, which was at leaſt ſufficient to enable him to fruſtrate the deſigns

* See the report on that ſubject, delivered in the 19th of November, 1765. *S.*

of the Engliſh, if he did not chooſe to take poſſeſſion himſelf of the caſtle for his maſters, which was offered to him, without the leaſt fear of the effuſion of blood; for it would have been effected in the following manner:

The Company's brokers, MANTCHERGI, and GOVENRAM, who were both living, and who both related the affair to me, when I was at *Surat*, were to have been ſeized, and put under arreſt, under ſome pretext or other, in the caſtle, and Mr. TAILLEFERT was then to have ſent a ſtrong detachment of troops to the caſtle, to require their releaſe as perſons in the ſervice of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company; and this detachment were, by agreement, being let into the caſtle for that purpoſe, to make themſelves inſtantly maſters of it.

Nevertheleſs, the Engliſh chief, Mr. SPENCER, had the addreſs to perſuade Mr. TAILLEFERT to remain inactive, either by great promiſes, or by other means.

The truth of theſe circumſtances appears ſo evident, even from the public papers of the time, that it is not neceſſary to inſiſt upon the private teſtimony of the Company's brokers, or of all the individuals of conſideration

ſideration among the natives, who bear witneſs to them; for what could otherwiſe have induced Mr. SPENCER, before the commencement of the attack, and when he was at the head of the troops, to write, of his own accord, his letter of the 18th of February, 1759, by which he guaranteed, in the ſtrongeſt manner, all the privileges as well of the Company as of individuals, provided they obſerved a ſtrict neutrality? and what could otherwiſe have induced Mr. TAILLEFERT to give, by his anſwer of the 20th of the ſame month, not only aſſurances of friendſhip and neutrality, but likewiſe to declare, expreſsly, that for ſome time paſt he had given orders that none of his people ſhould give any offence to the Engliſh, and much leſs act inimically towards them; and alſo that he had, for ſome days, been preſent in perſon with moſt of the Company's ſervants at their garden, or wharf, in order to be the better able to prevent, either the governor of the caſtle, or any one elſe, from making any uſe of the Company's territory and artillery? It would equally be matter of ſurpriſe, if it were not with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that Mr. TAILLEFERT agreed to this neutrality, why he refuſed the

repeated

repeated offers made to him by the governor of the caſtle, as has before been mentioned, firſt indirectly, afterwards verbally, and then publicly and in writing, to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the Dutch Company, in deſpite of the Engliſh and of their menaces: for the reaſons which he alleges for that refuſal, in his ſecret diſpatches of the 10th of March 1759, chiefly conſiſting in the preſumption, that the governor of the caſtle had no authority from his maſter for that purpoſe, and in the apprehenſion that, if we were to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, the Engliſh might, at leaſt, claim an indemnification from us for the expences of the expedition which they had begun; or if we refuſed to ſatisfy their demands, act againſt us with open hoſtility, and perhaps compel us to the abandonment of the fortreſs, with more diſgrace, than the acquiſition of it was accompliſhed with facility; theſe arguments, I ſay, are far from being ſufficient to counterbalance the indubitable maxim, that in matters of the utmoſt importance and neceſſity, the moſt perilous remedies muſt be reſorted to, and the utmoſt hazard incurred, rather than be forced to yield to the ſuperiority of rivals.

It

It is therefore thought, that ſome palpable miſtake, or abuſe, was committed herein; for it is not otherwiſe poſſible to believe that Mr. TAILLEFERT, acquainted ſo long beforehand of the deſigns of the Engliſh, ſhould have tamely remained a ſpectator of their execution, without attempting the leaſt oppoſition; the more ſo, as he had, at that time, under his command, a ſtrong garriſon of brave troops exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, together with a good number of European ſeamen.

After all, our people were juſtified in expecting, as a recompence for their inactivity and neutrality, that the formal written aſſurances, firſt given by Mr. SPENCER by orders from the preſidency of *Bombay*, and afterwards direct by the council of *Bombay*, that they would maintain us in all the privileges which had been granted to us by the mogul emperors, and that they would not ſuffer any infraction to be made in them, would be religiouſly adhered to, and have been followed by active exertions in conſequence. But nothing was leſs their intention than to fulfil theſe fine promiſes and aſſurances, which had merely ſerved for the purpoſe of

lulling

lulling a too credulous governor into ſecurity and inactivity. They even, on the contrary, ſoon began to manifeſt their deſires, if not to nullify, at leaſt to curtail thoſe very privileges they had engaged to maintain; for Mr. SPENCER, the hero of the piece, whom I have ſo often mentioned, was no ſooner in the ſafe poſſeſſion of the caſtle, than he gave many grounds of complaint to our people, as appears from ſome letters written ſoon after by Mr. TAILLEFERT himſelf.

One HODGES too, an Engliſh chief, ventured far beyond the bounds of juſtice and equity towards us. Availing of the inability of our director, Mr. DRABBE, he ſought to overthrow at once the honour, the eſteem, and the proſperity of our Company; for it was ſolely through his influence, and at his inſtigation, that the nabob compelled our ſervants, in the year 1762, after a long inveſtment, or ſiege, of their factory, not only to pay a heavy contribution in ready money, but alſo to ſubmit to the moſt humiliating conditions that can well be imagined.

To enumerate all the injuries which our nation have ſuſtained from them here, ſince that time, and to enter into a particular detail

detail of our ſubjects of complaint; of the difficulties which we experienced, before we could obtain their conſent to remove the effects of the Company out of the factory in the city, to the garden, or wharf, and to land and houſe the merchandize we imported there, notwithſtanding the ſecond article of the twenty-ninth *firman*, which, together with all the other privileges granted to us, they had in ſo ſolemn a manner guaranteed to us, and promiſed to maintain; particularly empowered us ſo to do of their illiberal conduct with reſpect to the repairs we wanted to make at the powder-magazine on the wharf, although the perſons they had themſelves deputed to inſpect into it, had teſtified the neceſſity of the repairs intended; of the obligation under which they attempted to bring the Company, to let the goods which were to be exported be *chiapped* by an officer appointed by them, in conjunction with the one appointed for that purpoſe by the governor of the city, although the latter had always before been alone authorized to do it, and the governor of the caſtle had never been allowed to interfere in this commercial tranſaction, and which, if our people had not poſitively

reſiſted,

reſiſted, would have ſubjected them for ever to the caprices of the Engliſh, in this important matter; of the compulſion which one PRICE exerciſed, in order to obtain all the ſugar brought to *Surat*, in private trade, at a very low rate, and which even prevails at preſent, as I have before related, and inſtanced by what happened to myſelf; of the indecent and outrageous manner in which HODGES claimed the effects of one KLINKAERT, who had been our comptroller of equipment, but had deſerted, and was taken under the protection of the Engliſh chief, and when they were refuſed to be delivered, his violent conduct in ſending an enſign with a ſtrong detachment of military to ſeize them, and carry them away by force, cauſing the Company's ſeals, which had been affixed to thoſe effects, to be torn off by a ſubaltern officer; of the ill treatment which our brokers underwent, in defiance of the rights of the Company, under whoſe protection, and in whoſe ſervice they were, and conſequently ſubject to no juriſdiction but that of our director and council; of the exceſſes and outrages committed by the Engliſh, in the year 1772, at our factory at *Baroche*, when they

they made no ſcruple of inveſting the Company's lodge with an armed force, keeping the perſons of their ſervants in confinement, and breaking open the warehouſes, cheſts, boxes, &c.: to give a particular detail, I ſay, of all theſe injurious tranſactions, as they are recorded at length in the papers of the Company, and of which, other accompanying and aggravating circumſtances have been related to me, would entirely take up the little remaining time I have appropriated for the purpoſe of noting down only what is moſt remarkable at *Surat*, and in the Company's affairs there. The inſtances that I have thus ſlightly touched upon, are enough to ſhew the arrogant and arbitrary diſpoſition and conduct of a nation whoſe inveterate hatred of the Dutch is too notorious to admit of diſpute; and likewiſe the unpleaſant and cruel ſituation in which our Company are placed, both here and in *Bengal*.

It would be a moſt deſirable circumſtance, if the Engliſh were ſhut out, from trading to other places, where we are poſſeſſed of the territorial power; or, at leaſt, that their trade were not preferably encouraged both by the Company and by individuals.

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Marattas.—Their Wars with the Moguls.—Government.—Predatory Diſpoſition.—Military Eſtabliſhment.—Conduct when in the Field.—Account of their Camps, &c.—Tributes paid to them.—Their Territories.—Revenues.—Account of the Patans, or Afghans.—Their Origin.—Their warlike Genius, &c.

I HAVE ſeveral times before made mention of the Marattas, and the influence which this people have at preſent in the affairs of *Hindoſtan*, render them deſerving of being better known; and it is requiſite to give as many particulars of this extenſive people as can be aſcertained: the following account of them, which I met with in an Engliſh work, will therefore not be improper in this place:

"As the Marattas have no written hiſ-
" tory, and ſcarcely any tradition, that we
" know, of their former ſtate, it is im-
" poſſible

" poſſible to procure a full and ſatisfactory
" account of ſo numerous a nation, once ſet-
" tled, then diſperſed, and now re-eſtabliſh-
" ing themſelves throughout all parts of the
" mogul empire: a people who have had,
" from time immemorial, ſettlements to the
" north of *Dehly*, great part of which they
" ſtill poſſeſs; though ſo great were the num-
" bers that were driven out from thence,
" by AURENGZEBE, that he employed above
" twenty years in fruitleſs endeavours to re-
" duce them in their new ſettlements in the
" mountainous parts of the *Deckan* *.

" They have had continued wars ever

* The Maratta ſtates in the *Deckan* are the only people of *Hindoſtan*, who were never effectually ſubdued, and who never unanimouſly acknowledged themſelves fiefs to the throne of *Dehly*. AURENGZEBE himſelf, unable to conquer them, found it prudent, for the ſake of peace, to yield to them the ſovereignty of part of the *Deckan*. They even carried the terror of their arms into the heart of *Dehly*, whence they carried off vaſt treaſures; and they continued their depredations, firſt in the country around that ſeat of empire, and then in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orixa*: until, in conſideration of the ceſſion to them of the province of *Catac*, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with ALLAVERDI CHAN, who was poſſeſſed of the ſoubahſhip of *Bengal*, in the year 1750. *T.*

" ſince with all the moguls, ſubahs, and
" governors, and made innumerable treaties
" of peace with them, which they never
" obſerve any longer than they think it
" their intereſt. They have themſelves had
" ſtrange internal revolutions, and what is
" moſt ſtrange, the preſent governing men
" among them are brahmins, or prieſts,
" hated by the true Marattas, but followed
" by them for pay."

" Their *rajah*, or prince, is ſacred; and
" they hold that he ought to be a kind of
" idol, ſhut up, and fed at the public ex-
" pence, and the executive power lodged in
" ſome other branch of his family; at leaſt,
" ſuch has been the eſtabliſhment on the
" *Malabar* coaſt: but this was ſubverted by
" the uſurpation of the two brahmins, the
" one called PEELAGEE, and the other
" BUDGEROW. PEELAGEE governed *Gu-*
" *zurat*, and BUDGEROW the country to the
" ſouthward."

" His ſon, who ſucceeded him, is known
" by his name BALAZEROW, on the *Coro-*
" *mandel* coaſt: on the *Malabar* he is call-
" ed the NANNA, for that is the title by
" which the acting head of the govern-
" ment,

" ment, and general of the forces, is diſ-
" tinguiſhed."

" The nominal prince, or the idol, as he
" has been deſcribed, is ſtyled RAM RAJAH,
" and SAHA RAJAH *."

" All theſe names, indiſcriminately uſed,
" and ſtrangely ſpelt, occaſion no ſmall dif-
" ficulty to the reader of the writings con-
" cerning theſe people, who is alſo deſired
" to take notice, that though all authors
" ſpeak of *Sattaarah* as the capital of the
" Maratta country, the reſidence of the
" brahmin their ſovereign, is *Poonah*, about
" a hundred miles eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of *Bom-*
" *bay* †, where all the buſineſs of the go-
" vernment is carried on."

" What proves that they have formerly
" been powerful over all the mogul em-
" pire, though now diſunited, is the uni-
" verſal acknowledgment of the *chout*, or
" tribute, paid to them, of a fourth of the
" revenues of every *rajah*, or governor.

* Likewiſe the SAHOO, or SOU, from the laſt king who actually reigned. *T.*

† " D'ANVILLE ſays, the ſituation of *Sattaarah* is not " aſcertained, and therefore he has not put it in his " map." *T.*

" This they ſtill collect in all parts, taking
" what they can get of it in ready money,
" and leaving the balance in arrear, which
" will ſerve them at leaſt as a pretence for
" another incurſion, whenever they want
" employment for their troops *."

" It may ſeem ſtrange that theſe Ma-
" rattas, who are brahmins, and ſo ſtrict
" obſervers of the Gentoo religion, and the
" tenets of the tranſmigration of ſouls, that
" they will never kill the moſt offenſive
" animals that crawl about them, ſhould,
" without any ſcruple, eagerly employ their

* Their natural faſtneſſes and inacceſſible mountains, which conſpired with their native bravery to preſerve the Marattas from the mogul yoke, account for their predatory habits, their neglect of agriculture, and invincible love of arms. Among this race of warriors, that generous hoſpitality, both towards ſtrangers and each other, which in former times ſo eminently characterized the manners of the eaſt, is ſtill obſerved with ſacred, and even ſuperſtitious exactneſs. Their military eſtabliſhment, which is chiefly compoſed of cavalry, is about three hundred thouſand; but theſe are not to be conſidered as regulars, or permanent troops, but as an eſtabliſhed militia. In judging of the Maratta force, we are alſo to obſerve, that it is an invariable cuſtom among their troops, when an expedition is concluded, to retire with what plunder they may have collected, to their reſpective abodes; leaving with the chiefs only what may be called their body-guards. *T.*

" ſabres

" ſabres to the deſtruction of their fellow-
" creatures. The ſalvo for this extraor-
" dinary contradiction, is a device of their
" prieſts, who, by the ſacrifice of a buf-
" falo, with many myſterious and enthuſi-
" aſtic ceremonies, abſolve their warriors
" from the reſtrictions which bind the vul-
" gar."

" It ſhould be here obſerved, that the
" Marattas, mentioned ſo often in the nar-
" rative *, were only a body of horſe, free-
" booters, who alternately took the pay
" of the higheſt bidder. They were ſuch
" as MORAROW † had picked up to follow
" his fortunes; and, till he attempted to
" make himſelf independent, they had no

* Of the war on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, in the year 1750. *T.*

† MORAROW, who is often mentioned in CAMBRIDGE's account of the war in India, was a Maratta, who, by ſupporting the diviſions in the country, had made himſelf conſiderable from a ſmall beginning; he ſided with no party, but as he found his advantage in it, and as eaſily changed ſides; he commanded about 3000 very good horſe. When not employed or paid by any prince, he ſcoured the country for himſelf, and raiſed contributions where he could get moſt, and with the leaſt riſk. His real maſter was the NANNA SAHA RAJAH, but he obeyed his orders only in proportion as they coincided with his own views. *T.*

" ſettled habitation, and no profeſſion but
" war, if it may be called a profeſſion,
" where they have neither art nor diſ-
" cipline: and yet they are formidable to
" the Moors, who, carrying ſuch numerous
" and encumbered armies to the field, are
" the eaſier haraſſed, and even ſtarved by
" them; for theſe pillagers, continually gal-
" loping round the country, cut off the con-
" voys; and as moſt of the parties carry
" with them neither baggage nor proviſions,
" they eaſily elude all purſuit, and, in an
" inſtant, retire to their faſtneſſes, or even,
" if occaſion require, to their own country.
" They ride a hardy horſe, inured to fa-
" tigue, and for the moſt part fed with
" ſtanding corn. The common men have
" no clothing but a turband on their head,
" and a ſaſh round their waiſt: inſtead of a
" ſaddle they uſe ſuch a kind of pad as is
" recommended by Marſhal SAXE. Truly
" formidable with their ſabres, they are fa-
" tal to troops that are once broke.

" They are a deſtructive foe, and an un-
" ſerviceable friend. They ruin their ene-
" mies by burning their country, and their
" allies by their avaricious demands for
" money.

"money. Inſtead of meriting their pay, "which they might eaſily do after a defeat, "by cutting off all the broken troops, they "fly to the camp, where every one procures "a good burden for his horſe, and walking "on foot drives him away loaded with the "ſpoil*."

"The

* With the above, it may not be unintereſting to compare and contraſt the following picture of the more regular armies of the Marattas, from DIROM's *Narrative of the Campaign againſt* TIPPOO SAIB, *in* 1792.—"The chiefs themſelves, "and all the Marattas in their ſuite, and, indeed, all their people, were remarkably plain, but neat, in their appearance. "Mild in their aſpect, humane in their diſpoſition, polite and "unaffected in their addreſs, they are diſtinguiſhed by obedience to their chiefs, and attachment to their country. "There were not to be ſeen among them thoſe fantaſtic figures "in armour, ſo common among the mahomedans, in the "nizam's, or, as they ſtyled themſelves, the mogul's army; adventurers collected from every quarter of the eaſt, who, priding themſelves on individual valour, think it beneath them "to be uſeful but on the day of battle, and, when that comes, "prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected by any "general principle of union or of diſcipline. The Maratta "camp was at the diſtance of about ſix miles from our's, and, "on approaching it, had the appearance of a large irregular "town, for the chiefs pitch their ſtandards around their general without order; and their tents being of all ſizes, and of "many different colours, at a diſtance, reſemble houſes, rather "than canvas. The ſtreets, too, of their camp, croſſing and "winding in every direction, diſplay a variety of merchandize, "as in a great fair. There are ſhroffs, or money-changers, "jewellers,

" The Marattas, though not without
" trade and manufactures, have principally
" enriched

" jewellers, ſmiths, mechanics, and people of every trade and
" deſcription, as buſily employed in their occupations, and at-
" tending as minutely to their intereſt, as if they were in
" *Poonah*, and at peace. The park of artillery, where all their
" guns are collected, made an extraordinary appearance. The
" gun-carriages, in which they truſt to the ſolidity of the tim-
" ber, and uſe but little iron in their conſtruction, are clumſy
" beyond belief, particularly the wheels, which are low, and
" formed of large ſolid pieces of wood united. The guns are
" of all ſorts and dimenſions; and, having the names of their
" gods given to them, are painted in the moſt fantaſtic man-
" ner; and many of them, held in eſteem for the ſervices they
" are ſaid to have already performed for the ſtate, cannot now
" be diſpenſed with, although, in every reſpect, unfit for uſe.
" Were the guns even ſerviceable, the ſmall ſupply of ammu-
" nition with which they are provided, has always effectually
" prevented the Maratta artillery from being formidable to
" their enemies. The Maratta infantry is compoſed of black
" chriſtians, and deſpicable poor wretches of the loweſt caſte,
" uniform in nothing but the bad ſtate of their muſquets, none
" of which are either clean or complete; and few are provided
" with either ammunition or accoutrements: they are com-
" manded by half-caſte people of Portugueſe and French ex-
" traction, who draw off the attention of ſpectators from the
" bad clothing of their men, by the profuſion of antiquated lace
" beſtowed on their own; and if there happen to be a few Eu-
" ropeans among the officers and men, which is ſometimes the
" caſe, they execrate the ſervice, and deplore their fate. The
" Marattas do not appear to treat their infantry with more re-
" ſpect than they deſerve, as they ride through them without
" any ceremony on the march, and on all occaſions evidently

" conſider

" enriched themſelves, by obliging the more " wealthy and reſpectable powers, their " neighbours, to be tributary to them."

" It

" conſider them as foreigners, and a very inferior claſs of people " and troops. Indeed the attention of the Marattas is directed " entirely to their horſes and bazars, thoſe being the only " objects which immediately affect their intereſt. On a " marching-day, the guns and the infantry move off ſoon " after day-light; the bazars and baggage move nearly about " the ſame time, as ſoon as they can be packed up and got " ready. The guns and tumbrels, ſufficiently unwieldy " without further burden, are ſo heaped with ſtores and bag- " gage, that there does not ſeem to be any idea of its ever " being neceſſary to unlimber, and prepare for action on the " march. As there are no pioneers attached to the Maratta " artillery to repair the roads, this deficiency is compenſated " by an additional number of cattle, there being ſometimes a " hundred, or a hundred and fifty bullocks, in a ſtring of " pairs, to one gun: the drivers, who are very expert, ſit on " the yokes, and paſs over every impediment, commonly on " a trot. The chiefs remain upon the ground, without tents, " ſmoking their hookers, till the artillery and baggage have " got on ſome miles; they then follow, each purſuing his own " route, attended by his principal people; while the inferiors " diſperſe, to forage and plunder over the country."

" A few days after the junction of the Maratta armies, an " irregular fire of cannon and muſquetry was heard in their " camp, between nine and ten at night. The troops imme- " diately turned out in our camp, and ſtood to their arms, " thinking that TIPPOO had certainly attacked the Marattas; " but it proved to be only the celebration of one of their " ceremonies, in which they ſalute the new moon on its firſt

" appearance-

" It will naturally be aſked, why do the " opulent ſtates ſubmit to be tributary? and

" appearance. Another circumſtance occurred ſoon after, alſo " characteriſtic of their cuſtoms and diſcipline. The ground " on which our army had encamped at the junction being " bare of graſs, and extremely dirty, Lord CORNWALLIS was " deſirous of marching; and ſent to the Maratta chiefs to re- " queſt they would move next morning, as their camp lay " directly in our route. They returned for anſwer, 'that " they ſhould be happy to obey his lordſhip's commands; but " as they had halted eight days it was not lucky, nor could " they, according to the cuſtom of their religion, march on " the ninth day. His lordſhip gave way to their ſuperſtitious " prejudice, and deferred his march."

" The armies of the allies, having ſometimes to paſs beyond " our camp to their ground, it was highly entertaining to ſee " them in motion the whole day; the chiefs in different " groups, moguls and Marattas alternately, themſelves and " their principal attendants mounted on elephants, diſtin- " guiſhed by their ſtate-flags and nagars alſo borne on ele- " phants. They were ſurrounded by cavalry, with their " various ſtandards, and preceded by their bards, and bands " of muſic, who ſung the praiſes of their maſters, and the " heroes of their nation. Group ſucceeding group; ele- " phants, camels, pikemen, ſtandard-bearers; horſemen in- " numerable, armed with ſword and ſhield, with lances, bows " and arrows, and every variety of ancient and modern arms " and armour; tilts and tournamentsfor exerciſe; and a con- " tinual diſcharge of piſtols and carbines, diſplayed the jubi- " lee of their march. A ſpectacle ſo wild and irregular, yet " ſo grand and intereſting, reſembled more the viſions of ro- " mance, than any aſſemblage that can be ſuppoſed to have " exiſtence in real life." Pages 6-13, 23 and 24. T.

" what

" what ſecurity have they that theſe licentious
" plunderers will abide by their agreements,
" and not continually encroach upon them,
" and raiſe their demands? The reaſon is
" plain: it is leſs expenſive, and a lighter
" tax upon trade, to agree to ſome certain
" payment, than to engage in the unknown
" expence of armies, to free themſelves
" from ſo irregular a foe: and as to greater
" exactions, if the chief have once ſettled
" the *chout*, he will hardly venture to ſtrug-
" gle for more, as the money agreed on
" goes into his own pocket; and were he
" to proceed to the more violent method of
" compulſion, by invading the country, the
" ſpoil would all become the property of
" his troops, under the article of plunder,
" and his own ſhare would come very ſhort
" of the ſum ſtipulated; beſides, they have
" the prudence to conſider, that a country
" ravaged by their troops, will produce nei-
" ther tribute nor plunder again for ſome
" time."

" Such has been, in a great meaſure, the
" ſtate of the Maratta people; but about this
" time (1755) it appears, that they enter-
" tained various deſigns of extending their

" territories

" territories in ſeveral parts of the country,
" and alſo on the ſea-coaſt. They took
" large diſtricts from the viceroy of the
" *Deckan*, marched to *Dehly*, and made a
" mogul, and after driving out ANGRIA by
" our ſtrength, beat the Portugueſe by their
" own. They had generals who ſet up for
" themſelves in the remote countries that
" they had conquered, and were giving
" ſome other indications of their return
" from a vagabond life of rapine and diſ-
" order, to a more ſettled ſyſtem of policy *.

" The

* The territories of the Marattas, extend from the neighbourhood of *Goa*, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, to the river *Paddar*, which diſcharges itſelf into the gulph of *Scindy*, and which divides *Guzurat* from the dominions of *Perſia*. On the eaſt they are bounded by the *Carnatic*, by the Engliſh Company's northern circars, and by the dominions of the ſoubah of the *Deckan*: but the province of *Catac* ſtretches in a winding courſe to the bay of *Bengal*. Their revenues were originally very great. Before the uſurpations of HYDER ALI CHAN, in the kingdom of *Myſore*, and around it, they amounted to about ſeventeen millions of pounds ſterling. Afterwards their annual revenue was computed to be ſtill equal to twelve millions; and by the conditions of peace impoſed upon TIPPOO SAIB, by Lord CORNWALLIS, at the concluſion of the campaign of 1792, he ceded to the Marattas a tract of country, yielding a yearly revenue of 13,16,666.6 Canteray pagodas, which are worth three rupees each, making therefore 493,750*l.* ſterling.

The

" The Marattas have been a great check " upon the Mooriſh government, and it is " owing to their arms alone that the ma- " homedans have been prevented from the " uſurpation of the whole peninſula."

" As the Moors are a luxurious people, " in a few years of peace they grow ener- " vated by their debaucheries, and ſoon de- " generate into ſloth and effeminacy. It " may alſo be added, that a general cor- " ruption of manners, and treachery to one " another, would greatly conduce to ren- " der them an eaſy prey to the Marattas, " whenever they ſhould take the reſolution " to expel them the country. And though " there is not a governor, in the higheſt " rank of power and independency, but " who ſtyles himſelf, a thouſand times, in " the ordinary tranſactions of the day, *the* " *ſlave of the Mogul*, there is not one of

The total of the annual revenues of all the diſtricts ceded on that occaſion by TIPPOO amounted to pagodas 39,50,038. 9. 8; thirty-nine and a half lacks of rupees additional revenues to each of the three confederate powers, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company the Nizam, or Subah, of the *Deckan*, and the Marattas, or one hundred and eighteen and a half lacks of rupees for the whole; being one-half of TIPPOO's annual revenue before the war. *T.*

" them

" them in the whole empire that pays the
" leaſt regard to the moſt ſolemn orders of
" that monarch, or that will march his
" troops to quell any dangerous commotion,
" or ſtir for the preſervation of the life or
" throne of his maſter."

" The only balance to the power of the
" Marattas, is a race of northern people,
" inhabiting the mountains of *Candahar*,
" commonly known in India by the name
" of Patans, though they are more gene-
" rally called Agwans, or Afghans, on the
" other ſide of the country; and under that
" name they conquered *Iſpahan* in the year
" 1722."

" They are mahomedans, yet no leſs
" enemies to the Mooriſh government than
" the Marattas or other Indians. They
" are ſaid to have been deſcended from an
" ancient colony of Arabians, who entered
" the country four hundred years before
" TAMERLANE, and built the city of *Ma-*
" *ſulipatam*; thence extending their con-
" queſts northward, they founded *Patna* in
" *Bengal* (or rather *Babar*), and at laſt
" overran the whole country to the weſt,

" and

" and were maſters of *Dehly* when TAMER-
" LANE firſt appeared in India *."

" As they were always reckoned good
" ſoldiers, they are now conſidered as the
" very beſt infantry in the whole empire;
" and it is natural to ſuppoſe they ſhould be
" ſuch, ſince they have been inhabitants of
" the northern mountains."

" This warlike nation made themſelves
" formidable to NADIR SHAH, in his
" march †; and after that conqueror had
" left

* Mr. HANWAY gives a different account of the origin of the Afghans; and for a particular detail of their cuſtoms, hiſtory, diſpoſition, &c. and of their invaſion and conqueſt of *Perſia* in 1722, the reader is referred to his *Revolutions of Perſia*, vol. I.

† On NADIR SHAH's return from India with his army, laden with immenſe treaſures, he was ſtopped at the river *Indus*, for want of a ſufficient number of boats to form a bridge. This delay afforded time to the Afghans and the Indians, who inhabited the weſtern ſide of the river, to take up arms. The vaſt booty which the Perſians had amaſſed, was a temptation not to be reſiſted; and they ſeemed reſolved to try their fortune, if, by uniting their forces, they could not ſeize ſome part of the plunder. They attained their object, though without trying their ſtrength; for the Perſian king thought himſelf in danger, and choſe rather to negociate for a free paſſage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The conſideration of a vaſt treaſure, rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR,

" left the mogul empire in the weak and
" indefenſible ſtate to which he had re-
" duced it, the Patans invaded it, on a ſup-
" poſition that it was in too low a condition
" to be able to reſiſt the force which they,
" at that time, thought was ſufficient to
" bring againſt it: they were, however,
" obliged to quit the country by a precipi-
" tate flight. But it was not long before
" the peace of *Dehly* was more fatally diſ-
" turbed; for the Patan chief retiring to
" *Lahore*, in a little time aſſembled a much
" more formidable army, and entering
" *Dehly*, gave up the town to be plundered
" three days by his ſoldiers. In the mean
" time he took to himſelf all that was to
" be found in the royal treaſury, and re-
" quired of the collectors of the public re-
" venues, that they ſhould be accountable
" to him for all they had received. He

cautious and circumſpect. He offered, and they accepted, ten lacks of rupees for a free paſſage; and, however large this ſum might appear upon another occaſion, it was an object of very little conſideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treaſure. The jewels, money, and valuables, carried out of India by NADIR and his army, have been computed to amount to no leſs than from ſeventy to eighty millions of pounds ſterling. *T.*

" then

" then marched home, being ſuppoſed to " have taken away more riches, except " jewels, than NADIR SHAH carried out of " the country. He made no revolution, " and, it is ſaid, no alteration in the go- " vernment of *Hindoſtan*, and yet he aſ- " ſumed a kind of ſovereignty over it; but " when he returned to *Lahore*, he drew a " line from ſouth to north, aſſuming to " himſelf a vaſt extent of country, to the " weſt of that line, which was before, at " leaſt nominally, dependent on the empire " of *Hindoſtan*; there he left his ſon TIMUR, " as governor of his new dominions, and " gave no further diſturbance to *Hindoſtan* " till the year 1757 *."

* CAMBRIDGE's *Account of the War in India*, pages 79-82, 119-122. The expedition of ACHMET ABDALLAH, the Patan chief here alluded to, in 1757, has been mentioned in chap. x. of the ſecond book, vol. II. T.

CHAPTER IX.

The Company's Direction at SURAT.—*Pomp in which the Director formerly appeared.—Military and Marines.—Council.—Bookkeepers and other Officers of the Company.—Their Brokers.—Money-changer.—Contractors.—Incomes of the Company's Servants.—Further Particulars respecting their Trade.—Description of their Wharf in the Jenghibander.*

THE administration of the affairs and trade of the Company is at *Surat*, as in *Bengal*, entrusted to a director; these two places are the only ones where the Company have directors.

Formerly our director here lived in great pomp, on account of the ideas entertained by the Moors and Indians, who are accustomed to calculate the wealth of every one, and to hold them in respect, in proportion as they excel in grandeur and ostentation. For this reason the Company have not only allowed

allowed their director to appear with magnificence, but have alſo been at the expence of the various ornaments and ſervices of gold and ſilver plate, which it was neceſſary to keep for the purpoſes of parade, and which would have fallen too heavy upon the director himſelf. A certain number of horſes, and, as I believe, one or two elephants, chariots of ceremony, and palankeens, with trappings of gold and ſilver, were kept at the charge of the Company, to furniſh a ſplendid appearance whenever the director went out in ſtate.

But this is now all ſet aſide; and the ornaments of gold and ſilver, the ſervice of ſilver plate, &c. to the value of thirty thouſand rupees, were all carried on board of my ſhip to *Batavia*, and very little or no appearance of pomp is at preſent kept up at *Surat*.

The military, of whom there uſed to be before one hundred men and upwards, are now reduced to one enſign, and fifteen or ſixteen privates; and the marine eſtabliſhment conſiſts in two commanders of the Company's ſmall veſſels in the river, and a

boatſwain under the comptroller of equipment *.

This decreaſe plainly indicates the decay of the trade of the Company, and perhaps alſo an intention of gradually withdrawing from this place, without giving any offence to the government of the country, in order that they might not oppoſe the removal of our trade, on account of the advantages which they ſtill derive from it.

Yet it is alleged that this is merely done in order to bring this factory upon another footing, and to place it immediately under the direction of the adminiſtration in *Holland*, as at preſent is the caſe with reſpect to *Ceylon* and *Bengal*; to which effect, the orders for ſupplies, which were before executed from *Batavia*, were henceforward to be fulfilled by a veſſel to be ſent hither direct from *Holland* for that purpoſe; and thoſe for the year 1778 were accordingly made up for *Europe*.

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch at *Surat*, conſiſted of thirty perſons in the civil ſervice of the Company, one clergyman, two ſurgeons, four mariners, and twenty-five ſoldiers; in all ſixty-two Europeans. *T.*

To

To the director is adjoined, as in all other places, a council, conſiſting at preſent, of the director as preſident, the ſenior merchant and ſecond, the merchant fiſcal, and ſix junior merchants, who, but without the director, and having the ſecond as preſident, compoſe the council of juſtice.

Beſides theſe there are ſeveral bookkeepers and aſſiſtants, who perform the writing buſineſs; a comptroller of equipment, who has the rank of firſt lieutenant; a chief ſurgeon to the hoſpital; and a *diſpencier*, or purveyor, who is, at the ſame time, bookkeeper.

There are likewiſe two factors in the Company's lodge at *Baroche*, one of whom is a junior merchant, and the other a bookkeeper.

The Company have alſo ſeveral natives in their ſervice. Of theſe, the chief are the two brokers, one of whom is a Perſee, and the other a Banian, who have already been between thirty and forty years in that employment.

All ſales and purchaſes relative to the trade of the Company are made by them, and they receive for brokerage one and a

half per cent on the former, and three and a quarter per cent on the latter. They frequently purchaſe for their own account all the goods which the Company import. They formerly even carried their influence in the direction to ſuch a pitch, that no other native merchant durſt ever make an offer for any goods; but the director SENF, ſeeing the evil conſequences ariſing from their aſſumed excluſive privileges, invited himſelf other merchants to come and treat for the goods, againſt which the brokers naturally endeavoured to do all they could; but that gentleman found means to pacify them, and make them know their duty.

Nevertheleſs he beſtows much praiſe upon them in ſection 107, of his memorial, where he ſays, that the Company never had more zealous, or more intelligent ſervants, nor ever will procure better merchants as brokers, than thoſe who are at preſent in that employment. I will quote his own words: "This appears from the "large cargoes which I have annually diſ-"poſed of through their management, and "from the great profits which I made upon "them; this appears more evident from

"their

" their integrity, in punctually fulfilling " their engagements entered into by the " yearly contracts which I made with them, " and by which I ſtipulated, eſpecially with " reſpect to the purchaſes to be made for " the Company, the moſt favourable terms " that could ever be obtained. To theſe " circumſtances, therefore, I refer, as con- " cluſive proofs of the neceſſity there is " duly to appreciate the merits of our " brokers and contractors, and to keep " them attached to our intereſt. They " likewiſe afford proofs of the reality of the " amelioration of the trade of the Company " which has thereby taken place, during my " adminiſtration."

It were to be wiſhed that they were ſtill held in the ſame eſtimation; but I have ſeveral times heard complaints of the contrary, imparted to me in confidence; and that they meet with much vexation and difficulty, by the machinations of the Engliſh, and eſpecially of their broker, who, it ſeems, had much influence with the perſon who has at preſent taken a great part of the direction upon himſelf.

In former times, it appears, that the brokers

brokers employed by the Company, were both banians: and it ſeems to have become hereditary in the family of one of them, for the preſent banian broker is the fifth of his family, who has filled this office, during the ſpace of upwards of one hundred years.

But Mr. SCHREUDER, in his beforementioned memorial, addreſſed to Mr. PECOCK, is of opinion, that it is better for the intereſts of the Company that their brokers be of different religions, in order to have them more under controul, and that the leſs mutual good underſtanding prevail between them. Yet I never obſerved otherwiſe than that they were as confidentially connected together, as if they were not alone of the ſame religion, but alſo own brothers.

Beſides acting as brokers in the ſales and purchaſes of goods, one part of their office is to attend at the *durbar*, or upon the city-magiſtrates, when there is any thing to do there in behalf of the Company, either to prefer petitions, preſent remonſtrances, or make propoſals, all which is done through them.

The Company's money-changer is alſo one

one of their principal native ſervants. The purchaſe-money of the goods ſold is depoſited in his hands, before they are delivered out of the warehouſes. He puts the rupees into bags, each containing one thouſand, which he ſeals with his *chiap*, and he is obliged to ſtand to the number, for which he receives one-ſixteenth per cent; yet the bag muſt be opened in his preſence, or elſe he is not reſponſible, if leſs than the right ſum be found in it. Theſe bags, ſealed in this manner, paſs through ſeveral hands, and are currently taken for the value marked upon them, without being opened, or the money counted out, as long as the ſeal remains uninjured.

The Company have further their furniſhers, or contractors, being thoſe perſons with whom they contract for the delivery of cotton cloths. They have the cottons manufactured according to patterns given to them, and as ſoon as they are ready, they are carried into the lodge in the city, where they are examined and compared with the patterns, and ſuch as do not agree, or are faulty, are rejected, and returned to

the

the contractors; this is called to *bazar* the cottons, and it may not be done in any other place than in the lodge.

The director has, beſides, two natives in his ſervice called *hircarrahs*, who carry ſuch meſſages to the nabob, and the city-magiſtrates, as are of too little importance to trouble the brokers with.

All the European ſervants of the Company, from the director down to the aſſiſtants, enjoy a certain income, ariſing from two per cent upon the amount of the ſales of ſpices, and of the purchaſes of ſilks, cotton cloths, raw ſilk, and cotton yarn, for Europe, and from five per cent upon the ſales and purchaſes of all other goods, allowed them by the Company, of which a repartition was made by Mr. SCHREUDER, and approved of by the government at *Batavia*, in the year 1746.

Thoſe who are employed in the warehouſes, in the purveyor's office, at the wharf, &c. have ſeveral other emoluments, which are particularly detailed in the *Regulations iſſued by the Company, containing the Means of a better ſubſiſtence* for their ſervants,

of

of which I may, perhaps, add copies in an appendix *.

The chief articles of merchandize which the Company diſpoſe of to advantage here, at preſent, are, ſpices, Japan copper in bars, and ſugar; the other articles, ſuch as tortoiſeſhell, benzoin, tin, quickſilver, &c. which appear to have produced ſome profit in former years, are now either not ſent at all, or in ſmall quantities, as the greater ſupplies of them, now brought to *Surat*, by other nations, render the gains upon them both precarious and of little conſequence.

Yet the Company have ſometimes been obliged to put up with a profit of no more than twenty-five per cent upon ſome of the firſt mentioned articles: as for inſtance; when in one year, a certain favourite being ſent as chief to *Surat*, and it being foreſeen that his adminiſtration would not be of long duration, it was alleged that the Company's

* The regulations intended to have been added by Mr. STAVORINUS in an appendix, were not publiſhed with his voyages, but copies of them have been procured from Holland, and tranſlations of them are added at the end of this volume, in an appendix, which, it is preſumed, will be found uſeful to explain much of the domeſtic economy of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company. *T.*

warehouſes

warehouſes at *Batavia* were ſo glutted with ſugar, that it was neceſſary to find ſome means of diſpoſing of the large quantities on hand; it was therefore determined that all ſhould be ſhipped to *Surat*, with orders to put off the whole, were even no more obtainable than an advance of twenty-five per cent on the invoice-value; theſe inſtructions were faithfully attended to; and after an adminiſtration of two-and-twenty months, the favourite returned well pleaſed to *Batavia*, plentifully loaded with rupees.

In the rainy ſeaſon, ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, trade is at a ſtand, as the country-roads are then impracticable; but moſt of the cotton cloths are woven during that ſeaſon. The beſt time for trade is ſhortly afterwards, in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, as moſt of the ſupplies of the preceding ſeaſon are then exhauſted, and the merchants can then ſend their goods up the country, and ſell them to advantage.

Excepting what relates to the purchaſed cottons, all the Company's effects and concerns are at preſent upon their wharf, which is a piece of ground lying in the ſouth-weſtern ſuburb, called *Jenghi-Lander*, by the riverſide.

riverſide. It was ceded to the Company, partly as a purchaſe, and partly as a donation, in the time of the embaſſy of Mr. KETELAAR, in the year 1712; but the abovementioned uſe was not made of it, till under the direction of Mr. SENF, who contrived to convey thither all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe, and who obliged the Company's ſervants to reſide upon it. I compute it to be about ſeven or eight acres in extent; it is covered with buildings and warehouſes, except for about the length of fifty or ſixty roods (two hundred, or two hundred and forty yards), along the river, where a ſtone wall has been erected from the riverſide, to the height of four feet above the level ground, which has two gates, before each of which a pierhead juts out into the river, where the goods are diſcharged and ſhipped, and the veſſels lie always afloat.

The building and repairing of this wall have already coſt the Company a large ſum of money, as well in what was paid to the Mooriſh government, in order to obtain permiſſion to erect it, as in the expences of the conſtruction itſelf. Mr. DE ROTH, who ſeemed

ſeemed to be very much in earneſt to begin this work, charged in account, it is ſaid, no leſs a ſum than eighty thouſand rupees, ſolely for the conſideration-money, given for leave to build the wall; and when, two or three years ago, part of the wooden piles at the northeaſt ſide required to be renewed, a ſum of forty thouſand rupees was charged for effecting it; each pile being provided, as I was told, with eighty pounds weight of iron-work.

At the weſt end of the wall ſtands the houſe of the director, as alſo that of the ſecond; on the other ſide, between theſe, is a large open ſpace, on which the enſignſtaff is planted; and about forty yards from the wall there are four dwelling-houſes, of an uniform height, being of one ſtory, which were erected under the laſt direction, with the conſent of the Engliſh and Moors: behind them are ſome ſmaller buildings. The bookkeepers and inferior ſervants occupy part of the warehouſes, which are very ſlight, being only run up of bamboos and woodwork.

The wharf is ſhut every night by two gates, at one of which there is a guard of military

military, being juſt beyond the hoſpital, over which the chief ſurgeon has his apartments.

I have now related all what I found worthy of obſervation during the ſhort ſtay that I made at *Surat*, which did not permit me to examine into the manners and cuſtoms of the natives with more accuracy, though I had the greateſt deſire to do it.

I ſhall now go back to my journal, from the time of my arrival at *Surat*.

CHAPTER X.

Paſſage up the River of SURAT.—*The Company's Garden* ZORGVRY.—*The Bar.*—*The Tary-dyke.*—*Tomb of a Faquir.*—*View of the City, &c.*—*Excurſion to* ATTUA—*To a Garden of the Nabob.*—*Viſit to a Faquir, who had vowed a Silence of twelve Years.*—*The training of the Engliſh Sepoys.*—*Viſit to, and Account of, a Pagoda, and ſome Faquirs.*—*The Company's Brokers pay a Viſit to the Author.*—*He goes to ſee a celebrated Faquir, called* BABBA SAHEB.—*Account of his Houſe, Converſation, &c.*—*Viſit to another Pagoda, and Account of ſome religious Ceremonies of the Gentoos.*—*Viſit to the Garden of* BEGUM SAHEB.—*Celebration of the new Year by the Moors.*—*Proceſſion of the Nabob to the Moſque.*—*Excurſion to, and Account of,* OLD SURAT, *and of a Moſque there.*—*Excurſion to* BRIAUW.—*To* POELE PARRE.—*Deſcription of a Species of Hemp.*—*Further Account of ſome religious Ceremonies of the Gentoos.*—*Preparations for Departure.*

I HAVE before mentioned that both the ſhips, *Ouwerkerk* and *Overhoud*, caſt anchor in the road of *Surat*, on the 10th of November, 1775.

The

The next day, at noon, I left the ſhip, and came in about half an hour to *Attua*, or rather to the Company's garden there, called *Zorgvry (free from care)*, where the director, BOSMAN, then was.

I found on the bar, in the *Paſſägeul*, nine feet water, it having riſen, as I gueſſed, ſix feet. The mouth of the river is half a league broad, by my computation, from *Sualy* to the N.W. to *Domis* to the S.E.

A little below *Sualy*, on the ſame ſide, is the *Tary-dyke*, ſo called from its being frequented by ſome of the common people, who retail their *tary*, or *ſuri*, to the paſſers by: I have before mentioned this liquor. The country here looks very barren; but when you get higher up, it aſſumes a better and more fertile appearance. At intervals, large fields of *nilly*, which the Moors call *juary*, are ſeen, divided from each other by intervening paſture-grounds.

A little below the village of *Omrah*, on the right hand, in going up the river, we paſſed the tomb of a faquir, which was attended by two of thoſe devotees: it ſtands in a little grove, out of which ſeveral long

bamboo poles riſe, with little white flags, with red ſpots upon them.

On approaching nearer to the point of *Omrah*, we got ſight of the city of *Surat*, the Dutch and Engliſh wharfs, the Company's garden, and, in particular, the Mooriſh caſtle, all which together make a lively and variegated appearance, from the numerous and different flags that are diſplayed upon them.

The whole lies on the ſouth bank of the river, which is here about one hundred and ſixty, or two hundred yards in breadth. On the oppoſite bank are extenſive plains, the view over which is bounded by woods.

After I had informed Mr. BOSMAN of my arrival, and had ſtayed a ſhort time with him, I left him, and went, by the ſame boat which brought me, to the Dutch wharf. I took up my quarters in a houſe which ſtood juſt without the wharf, and which had been hired for me at the rate of twenty-five rupees per month: this manſion was more like a ſtable than a houſe; yet I was told, what I afterwards found to be the fact, that it was one of the beſt that could be procured here.

I took

I took a walk, early in the morning, on the next day, to *Alttua*, in order to ſpeak with Mr. BOSMAN on various matters concerning my ſhip, &c. The road thither is very pleaſant and ſhady. On the right hand there were people employed by the orders of the Engliſh chief, to dig up the foundations of a ſtrong wall, that had ſurrounded a piece of ground ſituated by the ſide of the river, within which a kind of town had been built by a native merchant, named FAKKOORDEER, who had nineteen ſhips of his own at ſea, and of whom it was related, that he never could bring the number to twenty, for the twentieth was no ſooner equipped, than he received advice of the loſs of one of the others. The wealth of this man was ſo immenſe, that he intended to have covered this wall with plates of copper; and he had actually begun to do ſo, when the nabob, having inticed him into the city with profeſſions of friendſhip and regard, and after having in vain attempted to poiſon him, as he always ſecretly carried an antidote with him, incloſed in a ring, put him at laſt to death by violent means, in his garden of *Mahmoudi Bagh*.

In the afternoon I went on an excurſion out of the city, through the *Briauw*-gate, to a garden of the nabob, which, from that gate, is called the *Briauw*-garden. The building, which is erected in this garden, conſiſts of a large *divan*, or ſaloon, open before and behind, and having a kind of pavillion on each ſide, with ſmall receſſes, or retiring rooms. Before the building, an oblong ſquare piece of ground, one hundred and ſixty, or one hundred and eighty yards in length, is ſunk lower than the ground ſurrounding it, the edges of which are ſupported from falling down by a brick wall of two feet in height: this plot of ground is divided into beds, in which all ſorts of flowers are ſown, or planted. The reſt of the garden is planted with various fruit-trees, and among them many vines; the watering of the garden is effected by means of brick channels, which convey the water wherever it is wanted; this water is got out of brick ciſterns, brought up in leathern bags by oxen, and poured out into large ſtone reſervoirs.

All the other gardens of the nabob, which I went to ſee, at different times, are laid out nearly in the ſame manner.

On

On the 15th of November, I rode out with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, the fiſcal of this direction, who had the goodneſs to accompany me to the places where there was any thing remarkable, to ſee a faquir, who had impoſed a ſilence of twelve years, as a penance, upon himſelf; ten years had already elapſed ſince he had not ſpoken: we found him in a large hut, which had been made for him upon his coming hither a few months before, for theſe penitentiary devotees ſeldom remain long in the ſame place: he was ſitting by a little fire, although it was very hot weather on that day.

He appeared to me to be about thirty years of age, was well made, and more inclined to corpulency than ſpareneſs: he was covered with a white duſt, which was made of aſhes of burnt cowdung, and is ſaid to be very cooling; his hair and beard were, in particular, filled with this duſt, which made a moſt diſguſting appearance: his food conſiſted of confectionary, or ſweatmeats, and his drink of milk, which the byſtanders ſaid, for there were ſeveral people who viſited and attended him in this hut, was brought to him every day out of heaven; they likewiſe

wiſe informed me that the place of his birth was ſomewhere in or near *Bengal:* he was able, as I was told, to convey his meaning very plainly by ſigns. Oppoſite to where he ſat, was the image of the idol to whom he paid his devotions, placed in a ſemicircular niche: it was carved of one piece of a black ſhining ſtone, and repreſented a man in armour, with four arms: it was about three feet in height.

The Gentoos paid great reſpect to this faquir, on account of the ſingularity of his penance.

When I was at the ſame place, about a fortnight afterwards, he was gone, and no one knew whither; his hut was demoliſhed, and there remained no veſtige of his temporary abode on that ſpot, but the niche in which the image of his idol had been placed.

On the 16th of the ſame month, proclamation was made throughout the city, by order of the nabob, that the day of the enſuing new moon would equally be the firſt day of the new year: this proclamation was made amidſt the beating of drums, and the ſounding of a ſort of trumpets, or clarions.

The day after, I went, early in the morning,

ing, to ſee the Engliſh ſepoys perform their exerciſe; they had been raiſed a ſhort time before to ſerve in the war againſt the Marattas: this was done upon the *Meidan*. They formed a body of about two hundred. Their ſubaltern officers were of their own nation: they all wore a ſhort ſcarlet coat, laced with gold; pantaloons, and half boots, in the Mooriſh faſhion; and a white turban wrapped round the head. Their commanding officers were Engliſhmen.

They fired tolerably well; but the evolutions, and the cloſing of the ranks and files, were but indifferently performed. I likewiſe obſerved that moſt of them turned their heads aſide when they fired.

In the afternoon, I went on an excurſion, out of the *Mocha*-gate, on the road to *Omrah*, to a Gentoo pagoda, which was at the diſtance of about half a mile from the river. It was very ſmall, being ſcarcely ten feet ſquare, covered at top with a cupola. In the middle of the floor was a round hole, in which there lay a rough unhewn ſtone, ſtrewed with flowers. In a niche in the wall, lay a large red brick, with ſome figures delineated upon it; but they were ſo worn

out

out by length of time, that little of them could be diſcerned. In a corner, on the ſide of the entrance, there was a repreſentation of ſome animal lying down, made, as it were, of one brick, but in ſuch a clumſy manner, that it was impoſſible to ſay what particular animal it was intended for. Upon the wall, oppoſite to the entrance, were painted the figures of the ſun and moon.

Not far from the pagoda was the faquir's tomb, which I mentioned before. The grave was covered by a ſtone, about two feet above the ground. About twenty-five paces off, was the abode of two others faquirs, in a little hut, under ſome trees, and encircled by a paling of bamboo: they were keepers of the tomb, to which ſervice they had devoted themſelves; and when theſe die, they are buried as the others, and other faquirs again perform the ſame ſervice of guarding their graves.

On the 18th, I received a viſit from the brokers of the Company, of whom I have before made ſome mention. One of them, the chief of the Perſees, MANTCHERGI by name, was formerly an immenſely rich man, and one of the moſt capital merchants of

Surat,

Surat, but, by many misfortunes, to which the Engliſh did not contribute a little, he has loſt much of his wealth; the other, called GOVENRAM, is a Banian, who is equally eſteemed a man of large property, and who could ſpeak a good deal of Dutch, ſo as almoſt to carry on a converſation without interruption. According to the cuſtom of the country, I had betel preſented to them when they were about to depart, and roſe-water poured over their hands, with which they likewiſe moiſtened their faces.

The next day, early in the morning, I paid a viſit, in my palankeen, to the Banian hoſpital for ſick and maimed animals, of which I have before given an account.

In the afternoon, I rode with Mr. SLUISKENS to *Poele Parra*, not far from which place a Gentoo ſaint, or faquir, reſided, who was held in the greateſt veneration by them, and was addreſſed by the title of BABBA SAHEB, or *Lord and Father:* the Europeans called him by the ſame name.

This faquir was ſo highly venerated by all who are of the heathen, or Gentoo, religion, that even the Marattas at *Poonah*, when they were at *Poele Parra*, in the year before, and had

had burnt to the ground and deſtroyed the houſe and garden of the Engliſh broker, not only abſtained from doing the leaſt damage to the manſion of the holy man, but their chiefs went in perſon to pay their reſpects to him; and, at his entreaties, ceaſed from ravaging that neighbourhood any more.

He reſided in a pretty large houſe, of a ſquare form, built of ſtone, with balconies all around it. Within it there was an open ſquare ſpace, in the middle of which ſtood a little pagoda, in which there was nothing to be ſeen but ſome frightful idols: in one of the upper balconies was the image, being the repreſentation of a woman, with four arms, to whom the faquir and his attendants paid their religious adorations, and who had ſtrewed it plentifully with flowers.

We found this reputed ſaint in another gallery, whence there was a beautiful proſpect of the river and its eaſtern ſhore. He was ſitting on a large round mattreſs. His whole body, face, and head, were covered with the ſame ſort of aſhes of which I have before made mention, and of which he gave ſome to me, to ſatisfy my curioſity.

He received us in a very friendly manner; but

but he did not riſe from his ſeat. He had ſeveral young brahmins round him, as well to attend upon him, as to liſten to the leſſons which he gave them concerning their religion. The converſation was carried on by means of our ſervants, who were, however, but very wretched interpreters. I wanted much, by their means, to have entered into ſome diſcourſe with him, in order to obtain a better inſight into his religion; but Mr. SLUISKENS deſired me not to do ſo, as there were too many byſtanders of his people, in whoſe preſence he would not like to expreſs his ſentiments with freedom and preciſion; but he ſaid, that he had more than once been in private with him, and had then converſed with him, without diſguiſe, reſpecting his religion, undisfigured by the ſuperſtitious notions of the common people.

I went afterwards three ſeveral times to ſee him, in the hope that I might meet with him alone, and be equally fortunate with Mr. SLUISKENS in hearing his real ideas on that ſubject; but it was in vain, for he had always ſome of his people with him, whom he did not appear deſirous of ſending away.

One time that I was with him, in company

pany with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, I cauſed the queſtion to be put to him, how old he was? to which he at firſt anſwered: "One "day and one night;" but afterwards he ſaid, "that after his birth, he had firſt been "an infant; that when he grew older, he "got a beard, and encreaſed in ſtrength, as "he encreaſed in age; and that he was now "ſo far advanced in years, that his teeth "began to be looſe; but that, as near as "he could remember, his period of life had "hitherto been full ſeventy years."

He will, doubtleſs, have expreſſed his meaning, in anſwer to the ſimple queſtion propoſed to him, in a better manner than is here put down; but the broken language of our interpreters, rendered the tranſlation of his words neither very clear, nor very intereſting.

This may ſerve in confirmation of what I have before remarked, on ſpeaking of the religions of the eaſt, namely, that we ſhall not, in Europe, in all probability, ever obtain a true notion of the religion of the Gentoos, which is enveloped in ſo many ſuperſtitious myſteries, on account of the ignorance in their language, of thoſe who may

may otherwiſe be able and inclined to make the enquiries neceſſary for that purpoſe.

Our interpreter told us further, "that he "compared Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN and "me to good and ſpirited horſes, who were "every day duly provided with proper food, "and were taken care of by careful grooms, "who did their beſt to keep up and improve "the ſtrength and beauty of their horſes; "and himſelf to a little good-for-nothing "poney, lame, and of little uſe, but which "was equally valuable in the eyes of the "owner, with either of the others."

While we were with him, a Gentoo woman came to let him know that ſhe had performed the penance which he had impoſed upon her; whereupon he ſeemed to give her his bleſſing, and a little cut areca-nut, with which ſhe departed highly ſatisfied.

He wanted very much, that we ſhould ſtay with him that night, ſaying, that he would provide us with victuals, drink, and beds; but as we were both obliged to return to the city, we politely declined his hoſpitable offer.

On the 20th of November, I rode, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN, to what is called the

the *Mango-grove*, being on the road to *Omrah*, near which there was a pagoda, where the brahmins were to perform ſome of the ceremonies of their religion on that day.

We found ſixteen or eighteen of theſe Indian prieſts, who are diſtinguiſhable by little cords, to which a bead is attached in the middle, and which hang down their body over their left ſhoulder. One, who ſeemed to be the principal among them, ſat before a ſmall octagon hole, which appeared, by the eye, to be about a foot and a half in depth, and wherein there lay one of their holy ſtones, which they ornamented with flowers, heaped up upon it, like a pyramid, during a continued ſinging, and clapping of hands, in a regular cadence: the chief ſang firſt, and the others anſwered him in chorus: when the pyramid of flowers was completed, a large noſegay was placed at the top: at ſoon as this was done, they redoubled their ſinging and clapping, and appeared to congratulate each other on the completion of their work. Then one of the brahmins ſtood up, and ſtepped to the place where the principal brahmin ſat, who wetted his forehead with a reddiſh liquid, and afterwards placed

placed in his hands the ſhell containing that liquid, when he went round to the others, and wetted their foreheads in the ſame manner.

On the 21ſt, in the afternoon, I went to ſee the garden which had been laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, ſiſter to the celebrated AURENGZEBE. I walked over it with THEVENOT's travels in my hand, and found every thing perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumſtance that that traveller ſaw it in its greateſt ſplendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable ſtate of decay.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, I went to ſee the *Bora*-garden, which alſo lies in the outer town, between the *Naſſary* and *Dehly* gates; but I did not obſerve any thing particularly remarkable about it.

On the 24th, in the evening, five guns were fired from the Mooriſh caſtle, which is cuſtomary, whenever their new moon, with which their months begin, makes her firſt appearance; but that which now took place, was of the more conſideration, as the commencement of their new year was likewiſe to be taken from it, and the next day

was to be the firſt of the year 1190 of the *Hegira*, or of the flight of MAHOMED from *Mecca* to *Medina*.

I went, on the enſuing morning, with Mr. VAN DER SLEYDEN to the Meidan, where we took our ſtand upon a piece of higher ground, that we might have a view of the proceſſion in which the nabob was to ride in ſtate, to one of the *maſſieds* or moſques, in order to put up his prayers, in public, on the occaſion of the new year, according to annual cuſtom.

The proceſſion began to move from the court, or *durbar*, about half paſt ſeven o'clock. Firſt rode the *catoual*, or ſheriff, who is the officer appointed to watch over the tranquillity of the city, accompanied by his officers and people, and followed by one ſounding a large clarion. Next came a large elephant, marching with great gravity, with a large ſquare turret upon his back, ſurrounded with lattice-work, in which there were ſome people, one of whom carried the ſtandard of MAHOMED in his hand: this was of a triangular ſhape, and made of green ſilk, embroidered with flowers of gold. Behind came ten or twelve ſimilar, but ſmaller, ſtandards, which

which were carried by men on foot. Then followed another large, and a ſmaller elephant, carrying, in a kind of large ſquare troughs, upon their backs, the offerings which the nabob was to diſtribute to the poor. Next came two camels, with a kettledrum. Then ſeveral Moors, both on foot and on horſeback, with drums, flutes, French horns, and other ſonorous inſtruments of muſic. Immediately after them followed the nabob, ſitting upon an elephant of an enormous ſize, under a pavillion of ſcarlet cloth, with two circular canopies, which were ſupported by ſmall pilaſters; behind him ſtood a ſervant, who drove away the flies from him, with a fan, or bruſh, of cow-hair *: the elephant

* The cowhair of which theſe bruſhes are made, is one of the ſtaple commodities of *Thibet*, and is produced by a ſpecies of cattle different from what is found in any other country. This ſpecies is of a larger ſize than the common Thibet breed, has ſhort horns, and no hump on the back. The ſkin is covered with whitiſh hair of a ſilky appearance; but the chief ſingularity of the breed is in the tail, which ſpreads out, broad and long, with flowing hairs, like that of a beautiful mare, but much finer, and far more gloſſy. Theſe tails ſell very high, and are uſed, mounted on ſilver handles, for *chowras*, or bruſhes, to chace away the flies; and no man of conſequence in India, goes out, or ſits in form at home, without one or two *chowrawbadars*, or bruſhers, attending him, with ſuch inſtruments in their hands. *T.*

was richly caparisoned, having a covering of scarlet cloth, hanging half way down to the ground, richly laced and embroidered with gold, and with a long gold fringe hanging down from the edges; its ears were painted with a variety of figures, and the whole made a most splendid appearance. A green silk flag was carried before the nabob, having, as it appeared to me, a golden dagger in the center of it. The procession was closed by a company of Patan soldiers, or sepoys.

When, at about half past nine o'clock, the train returned again past the castle, a salute of fifteen guns was fired from it, which was answered by the same number of discharges from five pieces of artillery, placed expressly for that purpose upon the Meidan.

In the afternoon, I went up the river in a boat, with the comptroller of equipment, Boele, and Mr. van der Sleyden, to the town of *Old Surat*, which lies about half a Dutch mile higher up, on the opposite side of the river.

This is still a town of a pretty large size, built along the side of the river; part of the walls and ditches, which formerly surrounded it on the landside, are still in existence; but it has much run to decay within the walls.

Passing

Paſſing by a *maſſied*, or moſque, we had the curioſity to ſtep into it, in order to take a view of the inſide, which we were allowed to do, upon pulling off our ſhoes on entering it. I did not ſee any thing in this moſque more particularly worthy of remark, than in that I had before ſeen at *Surat:* to the weſt, there was a little cloſet made in the wall, in which they ſaid that the Koran lay; it ſerved likewiſe, at the ſame time, for the KEBLA, or place towards which thoſe that pray in the moſque muſt turn their faces, becauſe *Mecca* lay in that direction from that place: by the ſide of it was a ſemicircular place in the wall, about ſix feet high, in which the officiating *imam* places himſelf when he addreſſes a diſcourſe to the people. At the end of the *maſſied* we found, ſtanding in a corner, a large, oblong, ſquare ſtone, upon which was inſcribed, in Arabic characters, the cuſtomary ejaculation of mahomedaniſm: "There is but one God, and MAHOMED is "his prophet." It had been engraven on the ſtone, in the year 150 of the *Hegira*; and the ſtone itſelf had been brought ſeveral centuries ago from *Jedda* to where it now is, at leaſt, according to the relation of two of

their religious officiants, who pointed it out to us.

I made a tour, on the 26th, in the afternoon, to *Briauw*, a village on the other ſide of the river, through which you paſs on going to *Baroche*, *Amedabad*, and other places inland. On paſſing the *Tapi* here, it is very ſhallow, having ſcarcely three feet water, ſo that moſt of the natives paſs it on foot; but carriages are ferried over in a boat. The village itſelf has nothing remarkable in it.

On the 1ſt of December, I rode the ſame way, but higher up: on the riverſide, a a little below *Poele Parra*, there is a large and broad flight of ſtone ſteps, for the purpoſe of going down to bathe in the river.

Here I ſaw the preparation of a ſort of hemp, which bears much reſemblance to flax. The plant that produces it is called *ſanne* by the natives; it ſhoots forth a thin ſtalk, to the height of a man, and about the thickneſs of a little finger; it has no leaves, except a few, of a graſs-green colour, at the top, from between which grows a little yellow flower. After being cut, it is tied in bundles, and laid in the river, with clay or earth upon it, to keep it under water, where it is ſuffered to

rot,

rot, and where it continues till the ſtalks ſeparate into filaments. It is then hung up, dried, and afterwards beaten and heckelled. The threads, though ſomewhat coarſe, are long and ſtrong; and, although the people here think it cannot be made any other uſe of, than to be ſpun into ſail-yarn, I am confident that good and ſubſtantial cordage might be made from it, and that they could, in conſequence, do without European cordage, which is very dear here, and renders the outfit of veſſels very expenſive; for the *coir* cannot be employed in all purpoſes of naval equipment. When the ſame plant is not laid in water, but only dried, very good matches are made of it.

On other days I went to ſee various other curioſities in and near *Surat*; the royal mint, the caravanſeras, the burying-places of the banian or gentoo ſaints, &c.

About the time when the Company's cotton cloths were to be ſhipped, the Engliſh began to renew their former demands, namely, that the bales ſhould be chiapped by an officer appointed by them, as well as by the one appointed for that purpoſe by the nabob,

being the ſame innovation which they had attempted to introduce the preceding year, threatening that they would not otherwiſe ſuffer one bale to go from the ſhore; but our people ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this unjuſt demand, and declared that, if it were perſiſted in, the Company's ſhips ſhould go away empty, for they would never agree to ſubmit to it; proteſting, at the ſame time, that all the damage and loſs accruing therefrom, ſhould remain for the reſponſability of the Engliſh. Upon this, they deſiſted from their demand, and the bales were, according to ancient cuſtom, chiapped by the officers of the nabob alone.

The 18th of December was a great holiday, or feſtival, for the banians, and gentoos, being the laſt Monday of the moon, which had fallen in on the 24th of November.

Their brahmins determine at the time of each new moon, how many, and what holidays, or feſtivals, ſhall be obſerved during that lunation, and which days they ſhall count lucky, and which unlucky.

Their religious ceremonies, on this occaſion, conſiſted chiefly in viſiting a pagoda, ſituated near

near the village of *Oedanam*; and, in order to ſee them, I went thither, in the afternoon, in my palankeen.

The road ſwarmed with banians and gentoos, who were going to, or returning from, the pagoda; they were almoſt all men; the women, as I was told, had gone thither early in the morning. When I came near the place, the croud was ſo great, that I had no little trouble to get through it, although I had taken eight ſepoys with me, on purpoſe to clear the way.

The environs of the village were filled with faquirs and beggars, ſoliciting for alms; there were alſo a number of little tents, or booths, pitched in the neighbourhood, where flowers, fruits, &c. were ſold.

The pagoda, towards which the greateſt croud preſſed, ſtood a little on one ſide, upon an eminence. It was but ſmall; in the center of the floor, was a little octagonal pit, half full of water, in the middle of which lay a rough, unhewn ſtone, which was the object of their adoration. The preſſure of the people who caſt flowers upon the ſtone was ſo great, that I could ſcarcely ſee what was

going

going forward, though the brahmins took great pains to make ſufficient room for me.

Two images, which appeared to me to be made of clay, and one of which was the repreſentation of a human body, with the head of a ſwine, ſtood againſt the wall. Every one who came here, made their *ſalammas*, in token of reſpect, both to theſe images, and to the ſtone which lay in the hole, giving money, according to their reſpective abilities, to the brahmins, who, in return, wetted their hands, or faces, with the water in which the ſtone lay; whilſt there were but a few who had the good fortune to be thus wetted by a brahmin, after he had ſtroked his moiſtened hand over the abovementioned images of clay. They then muttered their prayers, and making ſome more *ſalammas* to the objects of their devotion, they departed highly pleaſed, and made place for others.

I ſtaid about half an hour to ſee this ſcene going on; but I was then obliged to return again into the open air, becauſe of the ſtifling cloſeneſs of the place, occaſioned by the reſpiration of the croud within the little temple, and the ſmoke of the lamps, which it was neceſſary

neceſſary to burn in it; for no other light could come to it from without, than through the entrance, which was now nearly choaked up, by the great multitude of people going in and out.

The remainder of the time during which I ſtaid at *Surat*, was devoted to the ſettling of my own concerns, to the receiving a return-cargo for *Batavia*, on board of my ſhip, and to parting entertainments, which ſeveral of the members of this direction were pleaſed to give on my account, ſo that I had no further opportunity of going to ſee any thing more of importance.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from SURAT.—*The Zodiacal Light.*—*View of Cape* COMORIN.—*Paſſage of the Line.*—*An Eclipſe of the Moon.*—*View of the Iſland* ENGANO.—*Account of it, and of its Inhabitants.*—*View of the Iſland* SUMATRA—KRAKETAU, *&c.*—*Intelligence of the Death of the Governor General,* VAN DER PARRA.—*Anchorage at* BATAVIA.—*Remarks on the Signs of Land obſerved at a great Diſtance from the Shore.*—*The* OUWERKERK *again appointed to go to* SURAT.—*Repaired at the Iſland* ONRUST.—*Loaded and ready for ſailing.*

ON the 30th of September, having ſettled all my concerns at *Surat*, I went down to the road, and found every thing on board of my ſhip, *Ouwerkerk*, in readineſs for ſailing, ſave ſome bales of cotton cloth, which were to make part of the cargo, and had not yet come down, but which came on board early the next morning.

In the afternoon, the fiſcal, VAN DER SLEYDEN, with the deputies from the council of juſtice, came on board, to muſter my crew,

crew, which was found to amount to one hundred and ſeventy-two ſouls, Europeans, Moors, Bougineſe, and paſſengers. In the night, the director of *Surat*, Mr. BOSMAN, on board of the Company's ſchooner, *the Young Peter*, dropped anchor cloſe to us. I received from him the Company's papers, and my final diſpatches, and directly, when the tide of flood had ſubſided, I weighed anchor, and got under ſail; but finding that the ſhip *Overhoud* did not follow me, I caſt anchor again at half paſt three o'clock, P.M. abreaſt of the point of *Naſſary*, and juſt in ſight of the road.

On the following morning, at four o'clock, we again got under ſail, with the tide of ebb, and we ſucceeded in getting abreaſt of Cape *St. John* the ſame evening, and thus out of the banks; whence we ſteered our courſe, according to the Company's ſailing-orders, S.W. in order to keep clear of the land, and of the Maratta fleet, which is generally on or near the coaſt. We ſaw, on that evening, at ſunſet, a fleet of veſſels, at leaſt fifty in number, amongſt which there were three large grabs, lying at anchor, ſouth of us; and being uncertain whether this was the Ma-

ratta

ratta fleet or not, we got all ready for an engagement; we paſſed, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. half a league to the weſtward of them, without their ſhewing any ſigns of an intention of attacking us, whence we concluded that it was an Engliſh convoy, coming from *Bombay*.

On the 6th of January, 1776, being, by eſtimation, thirty leagues from the land, we changed our courſe to S.S.E. and, on the 8th, to S.E.; but being on the next day, at ſunriſe, within ſight of the land, that lies a little to the ſouthward of the Portugueſe capital, *Goa*, we again ſteered in a ſoutherly direction, ſo that, at ſunſet, we could diſtinguiſh very little of the land.

On the 9th of January, and for ſeveral following days, we ſaw every evening, from ſeven to eight o'clock, the zodiacal light in the weſt, in the ſame manner as we had before ſeen it, in the month of October, in the eaſt; but it was then more bright, and nearer approaching to twilight, alſo more viſible, and terminating in a point: the time when I ſaw this appearance at the ſtrongeſt, was on the 21ſt of January, at half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening, in north latitude

latitude 8° 30′, abreaſt of *Coylang*, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, three leagues off: it then appeared as light and clear as the breaking of the day, about a quarter of an hour before ſunriſe; its baſe ſtood upon a dark cloud, ſuch as the ſeamen call a fog-bank, which roſe about three degrees above the horizon; the breadth of the light was, at the bottom, nearly 10°, and it was viſible to the height of 40°, where it terminated in a pyramidal form. It was ſtill viſible at nine o'clock, but not half ſo bright as before; it darkened the luſtre of moſt of the ſtars that were within its range; but I never ſaw the zodiacal light, without a cloud, or fog-bank, upon which its baſis reſted.

We continued to ſail along, keeping juſt out of ſight of the land, without meeting with any thing remarkable, till the 20th of January, when we again got ſight of the land; it was near *Cali Coylang*; whereupon the ſhip *Overhoud* parted from us the next day, and purſued her voyage for *Punto Gallo*, in *Ceylon*. In the evening, we ſaw the flag of *Coylang*, and, on the next day, at ſunſet, the Engliſh fort of *Ansjengo*, and the high land of Cape *Comorin*, the ſouthernmoſt point

of

of India within the *Ganges*, whence we ſteered for the offing, in order to purſue our voyage for *Batavia*; yet we were not able to double the Cape till the 25th, by reaſon of the calms, and a contrary current, which we met with; on that day, however, we got into the current of the ſtrong northeaſt winds which ſweep down along the high mountains of the *Ghauts*, and which make the bad monſoon on the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

On the 26th of January, we thought that we had a glimpſe of the iſland *Ceylon*, bearing N.E. by N.

We had now a ſettled N.E. and E.N.E. wind, which carried us, on the 2d of February, at noon, under the line, in the longitude, by eſtimation, of 99° eaſt of *Teneriffe*. On the ſame day the wind veered through the north to weſt, but with light airs.

On the evening of the 4th enſuing, we ſaw a total eclipſe of the moon: we could not obſerve the commencement of it, as the moon roſe during the eclipſe: the entire obſcuration was at fifty-three minutes paſt ſix o'clock; the time when the planet began to recover its light, thirty-nine minutes paſt eight; and the termination of the eclipſe, at

forty-

forty-four minutes paſt nine, ſo that the duration of the total obſcuration was one hour and five minutes.

We had continual calms, or variable winds, which, from the middle of February to the 12th of March, blew moſtly from the ſoutheaſt: and as, from what is generally the caſe, we had to expect weſterly winds in this part of the navigation, our voyage was greatly retarded, ſo that we did not come in ſight of the iſland *Engano* * till the 18th of March.

* The iſland of *Engano*, although frequently ſeen and mentioned by navigators, as moſt veſſels that paſs the ſtraits of *Sunda*, during the weſterly monſoon, run in ſight of it, ſeems not to have been viſited by any Europeans, but once, of which an account is given in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* of 1778; the rocks and breakers, with which it is ſurrounded, having always diſcouraged the attempt. The notice taken of it by Mr. Stavorinus, vol. I. page 48, except the ſhort mention of its inhabitants, is merely what a paſſing ſeaman might collect from its appearance. In the firſt voyage of the Dutch to the Eaſt-Indies, performed in 1596, coming in ſight of "the "iſland of *Pugniatan*, which the Portugueſe have named *Engano*, they ſaw ſix or ſeven canoes under the land: a boat "was manned for the purpoſe of ſpeaking to them; but on "ſeeing the Europeans advance, the Indians went back, and "drew their canoes upon the beach: theſe canoes were pretty "long, but ſcarcely one foot in breadth, and had two out-"riggers: the people that were in them made ſigns for the "Dutch to come on ſhore, which they did not do, not being "ſufficiently

March. Four days before we had ſeen a ſail under Dutch colours.

We

" ſufficiently armed: theſe iſlanders were about twenty-three " in number, and well armed with bows and arrows; they " were tall and well made, and of a yellowiſh hue, like the " Braſilians; they wore very long hair, perfectly ſtraight, " hanging down over their ſhoulders; they were entirely " naked, and had not the leaſt covering on any part of the " body." From that time, till the abovementioned voyage made to it from *Bencoolen*, for the purpoſe of exploring it, we do not know that any perſon either touched at, or has deſcribed it. The relation of this attempt not being acceſſible to all, we add an abſtract of it.—" With great difficulty and danger " we beat up the whole weſt ſide of it, without finding any " place where we could attempt to land; and we loſt two " anchors, and had very nearly ſuffered ſhipwreck, before we " found a ſecure place into which we could run the veſſel. At " laſt, however, we diſcovered a ſpacious harbour at the ſouth- " eaſt end of the iſland, and I immediately went into it in the " boat, and ordered the veſſel to follow me as ſoon as poſſible, " for it was then a dead calm. We rowed directly into this " bay; and as ſoon as we had got round the points of an " iſland which lay off the harbour, we diſcovered all the beach " covered with naked ſavages, armed with lances and clubs; " and twelve canoes full of them, who, till we had paſſed " them, had lain concealed, ruſhed out upon me, making a " horrid noiſe. As I had only one European, and four black " ſoldiers, beſides the four laſcars that rowed the boat, I " thought it beſt to return, if poſſible, under the guns of the " veſſel, before I ventured to ſpeak with them. The canoes, " after having purſued us for a mile, ſtopped a little to con- " ſult together, which gave us an opportunity to eſcape, as " they did not care to follow us out to ſea. The ſame after-

" noon,

We found here that we were fifty-eight and a half leagues more to the weſtward, than

" noon, the veſſel came to an anchor in the bay, and we were " preſently viſited by fifty or ſixty canoes, full of people. " They paddled round the veſſel, and called to us in a language " which nobody on board underſtood, though I had people " with me who underſtood the languages ſpoken on all the other " iſlands. They looked at every thing about the veſſel very " attentively, but more for the ſake of pilfering, than from " curioſity; for they watched an opportunity, and unſhipped " the rudder of the boat, and paddled away with it. I fired " a muſket over their heads, the noiſe of which frightened " them ſo, that all of them leaped into the ſea, but ſoon re- " covered themſelves, and paddled off. I went on ſhore the " the day after; I ſaw a few houſes near the beach, and went " towards them; but the natives flocked do vn, to the number " of ſixty or ſeventy men, well armed with lances, &c. and put " themſelves in our way; yet, when we approached them, " they retreated ſlowly, making a few threatening geſtures. " I then ordered my companions to halt, and went alone " towards them; they permitted me to come amongſt them, " and I gave them ſome knives, pieces of cloth, and look- " ing-glaſſes, with which they ſeemed well pleaſed, and al- " lowed me to take their lances, &c. and give them to my " ſervant, whom I had called to take them. Finding them " behave civilly, I made ſigns that I wanted to go to their " houſes and eat with them; they immediately ſent people, " who brought me cocoa-nuts, but did not ſeem to approve " of my going to their houſes: however, I determined to " venture, and ſeeing a path leading towards them, I went " forward, attended by about twenty of the natives, who, " as ſoon as we had got behind ſome trees, which prevented " my people from ſeeing us, began to lay violent hands on

than by our reckoning, ſince our obſervation of, and departure from, Cape *Comorin*, on the

" my clothes, and endeavour to pull them off; but having " a ſmall hanger, I drew it, and making a ſtroke at one of " them, retreated as faſt as poſſible to the beach. Soon after " we heard the ſound of a conchſhell, and a party of about " two hundred, aſſembled at about a mile diſtance. It was " now near ſunſet, and we were near a mile from our boat, " I therefore returned on board, but firſt went to the houſes " which the natives had abandoned, and found them ſtrip- " ped of every thing. I intended to have attempted an- " other day, to have penetrated into the country, and had " prepared my people for it: but the inconſiderate re- " ſentment of an officer, rendered my ſcheme abortive. He " had been in the boat to ſome of the natives, who had " waded out on a reef of rocks, and called to us; they had " brought ſome cocoanuts, for which he gave them pieces of " cloth: one of them, ſeeing his hanger lying beſide him in " the boat, ſnatched it and ran away; upon which he fired " upon them, and purſued them to ſome of their houſes, " which, finding empty, he burnt. This ſet the whole " country in alarm; conchſhells were ſounded all over the " bay, and in the morning we ſaw great multitudes of peo- " ple aſſembled in different places, making threatening geſ- " tures: ſo that, finding it would be unſafe to venture among " them again, as, for want of underſtanding their language, " we could not come to any explanation with them, I or- " dered the anchor to be weighed, and ſailed out of the bay, " bringing away two of the natives with me. They are a " tall wellmade people; the men, in general, about five feet " eight or ten inches high; the women ſhorter, and more " clumſy. They are of a red colour, and have ſtraight black " hair,

the 24th of January; this was probably occaſioned by the currents, which we had frequently obſerved ſetting to the weſtward.

On the 21ſt, in the forenoon, we came in ſight of the land of *Sumatra*, and the hill of

" hair, which the men cut ſhort, but the women let grow " long, and roll up in a circle on the top of their heads. " The men go entirely naked, and the women wear nothing " more than a very narrow ſlip of plaintain-leaf. The men " always go armed with ſix or eight lances, made of the wood " of the cabbage-tree, which is extremely hard; they are about " ſix feet long, and topped with the large bones of fiſh, ſharp- " ened and barbed, or with a piece of bamboo, hardened in " the fire, very ſharp pointed, and its concave part armed " with the jawbones and teeth of fiſh. They have no iron, " or other metal, that I could ſee, yet they build very neat " canoes; they are formed of two thin boards ſewed to- " gether, and the ſeam filled with a reſinous ſubſtance. They " are about ten feet long, and about a foot broad, and have " an outrigger on each ſide. They ſplit trees into boards " with ſtone wedges. Their houſes are circular, ſupported " on ten or twelve ironwood ſticks, about ſix feet long; they " are neatly floored with plank, and the roof riſes imme- " diately from the floor in a conical form, ſo as to reſem- " ble a ſtraw beehive; their diameter is not above eight " feet. Theſe people have no rice, fowls, or cattle of any " kind; they ſeem to live upon cocoanuts, ſweet potatoes, " and ſugarcanes. They catch fiſh, and dry them in the " ſmoke; theſe fiſh they either ſtrike with their lances, or " catch in a drawing net, of which they make very neat " ones. They do not chew betel, a cuſtom which prevails " univerſally among the eaſtern nations." *T.*

Paſſanger, bearing N.E. by E.; but at ſunſet we could not ſee any appearance of land; but as we had not been able to take an obſervation of the latitude at noon, on account of the hazineſs of the weather, I judged it more prudent to ply to and fro with little ſail during the night, than, by ſtanding on at an uncertainty, to bring ourſelves into danger: we had very rough weather that night, with violent flaws of wind, and a thick cloudy ſky, with rain, thunder, and lightning.

At daybreak, on the following morning, when the rough weather began to blow over a little, and the ſky cleared up to the northward, we ſaw the *Keizers*, or *Emperors*-iſland, bearing N.E. by N. and the ſummit of the high hill of *Kraketau*, juſt riſing above the horizon, in the E.N.E.; but the ſky being very thick and hazy to the eaſt and ſouth, we could not ſee any thing elſe, and the wind veering continually about, we were obliged to tack every minute: this continued till nine o'clock, A.M. when the wind ſettling in the W.N.W. we ſteered large N.N.E. In a ſhort time the wind encreaſed to a violent ſtorm, with dreadful guſts of wind,

wind, by which we were three times obliged to take in our topſails; but getting a glimpſe of *Prince*'s-iſland at half paſt ten o'clock, bearing eaſt and E. by S. from us, and a violent current, ſetting to the ſoutheaſt, carrying us forcibly towards the land, we were forced to ſet our topſails again, in order to haul off from the leeſhore, in which we ſucceeded, the high hill of that iſland bearing S.E. at half paſt three o'clock, P.M. and we then ſteered for *Kraketau*, and dropped anchor, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. on the eaſt ſide of it, in forty-five fathoms water, ſoft mud bottom.

The next day, the wind being favourable, we got under ſail again, at eight o'clock, A.M. We paſſed a Dutch ſhip that lay at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, and let drop our anchors, at ſeven o'clock, P.M. under the high land of *Bantam*, in twenty-four fathoms, mud bottom.

We continued at anchor the 24th, being occupied in clearing and cleaning the ſhip; and here we received intelligence, that the governor general, PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, had died, on the 28th of December of the preceding year, at his countryſeat

Weltevreeden (well contented), and that the director general, JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYCK, had ſucceeded to his dignity.

We ſet ſail again, on the 25th of March, in the morning, before daybreak, and paſſed, at nine o'clock, A.M. the ſhip *Maria Jacoba*, Captain DEKKER, coming from *Padang*, which was the ſame veſſel we had ſeen at anchor in the bay of *Jeritte*, two days before. At four o'clock, P.M. meeting with a contrary wind and current, we anchored under *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal*-iſland.

On the 26th, in the morning, we again got under ſail, and ſhould have reached the road of *Batavia* before the evening, had we not been prevented by a violent flaw of wind and rain, from the S.S.W.; we came to an anchor juſt in time under the iſland *Horn*, but the wind was ſo ſtrong, that our anchor dragged, and we were obliged to let go another.

Sailing again on the 27th, we anchored, a little after twelve o'clock at noon, in the road before *Batavia*.

Going on ſhore, at three o'clock, the boat was in great danger of overſetting, by a ſudden and violent guſt of wind and rain from the weſt; but we got ſafe into the river, and

and reached the city at half paſt four o'clock, when I immediately gave information of my arrival to his excellency, Governor VAN RIEMSDYCK, delivering the Company's papers into his hands.

On the 13th of April, I went with my ſhip to the iſland *Onruſt*, where ſhe was to receive a new bowſprit and mainmaſt, and I returned the ſame evening to *Batavia*.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, that on my voyage back from *Surat*, we met with ſigns of land, when we were yet at a very great diſtance from the ſhore.

Floating red blubber, which is generally conſidered in theſe ſeas as a certain ſign of land, was ſeen when we were full one hundred and forty leagues from the iſland *Engano*; a large turtle, at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty-five leagues; a little landbird, at one hundred leagues; greens, wood, and bamboos, at ſixty leagues; a turtle and two water-ſnakes, at fifty-five leagues; and the trunk of a cocoanut-tree, and ſome bamboos, at thirty leagues diſtance.

We loſt thirty-one men on the voyage from *Surat*; of whom twenty were Moors, one of whom was drowned; nine were native ſoldiers; and two were European ſailors.

On

On the 29th of May, the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was again appointed to go a voyage to *Surat*, together with the ſhip *Venus*; but it was about the middle of Auguſt before we began to take in our cargo, as there was a great ſcarcity of ſugar, which was to conſtitute the greateſt part of the lading, and the *Venus* was to go firſt, becauſe ſhe was to convey the bales of piecegoods from *Surat* to *Ceylon*; and ſhe accordingly ſailed on the 11th of Auguſt.

My ſhip had, in the mean time, undergone a thorough repair, and had got a new main and foremaſt, bowſprit, and moſt of her yards, which had become unſerviceable; among her repairs were likewiſe a new beam, and knee, in the hold, which had moſt likely been ſprung by the ſtraining of the ſhip, when under a preſs of ſail.

I ſailed with her, in the month of Auguſt, from *Onruſt* to *Batavia*, in order to take on board the reſt of the lading, which was not, however, actually completed till the 28th of September, when the crew were muſtered, and found to conſiſt of eighty European ſeamen, twenty-eight Moors of *Surat*, and twenty-five Malay, or country, ſoldiers.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from BATAVIA—*From* PRINCE'S-*Iſland.*—*Signs of Land.*—*Paſſage of the Line.*—*Occurrences of the Voyage.*—*View of* CEYLON—*Of Cape* COMORIN.—*Anchorage at* ANSJENGO—*In the Road of* COCHIM.—*The Dutch Company at War with* HYDER ALI *on the Coaſt of* MALABAR.

HAVING received the Company's papers, I went on board on the evening of the 29th of September, and we weighed anchor the next morning, and ſailed from the road of *Batavia* to the iſland *Onruſt*, where we caſt anchor at noon, having to take in there ſome timber for maſts for *Surat*; but not being able to get it on board, by the violence of the ſea-breeze, and our time being too precious to admit of our ſtopping another day for that purpoſe, we reſolved to purſue our voyage without delay.

We, therefore, got under weigh on the enſuing morning, and ſteering firſt between the iſland *Middleburgh* and the reef of *Ontong Java*,

Java, and afterwards between the *Great Combuis* and *Menſcheneeters* iſland, we anchored, in the evening, about two leagues eaſt of the point of *Pontang*.

The day after, ſetting ſail again at four o'clock, A.M. we ſhould have reached the bay of *Anjer* in the evening, if we had not been prevented by calms; and finding that we were driving, by a violent current ſetting to the weſtward, upon the *Verkenſhoek*, or *Hog*-point, of *Sumatra*, we let drop our anchor, in forty fathoms water, not far from the *Topperſhoedje*.

On the 3d of October, we again weighed anchor; but the little wind (and what little there was blew beſides from the S.W.) kept us till four o'clock, P.M. before we got as far as the bay of *Anjer*, where we anchored in twenty-eight fathoms water.

Getting under ſail again on the 5th, we kept plying, with a light air of wind from the weſtward, to weather *Kraketau*: but as it fell calm in the evening, and the current began to ſet to the eaſtward, we were again compelled to come to an anchor in thirty-three fathoms water, in order not to drive in again with the ſtream.

On

On the 6th, getting under ſail again, early in the morning, we worked up againſt a weſterly wind, making but little progreſs till ſunſet, when the wind changed to S.E. and we ſteered weſt towards the mouth of the ſtraits; at nine o'clock, P.M. *Kraketau* bore due north.

The next morning, at ſunriſe, *Prince's* iſland bore S.E.; and taking our departure thence, we ſteered S.W. by W. in order to run into the track of the ſettled ſoutheaſterly tradewind, which we met with the ſame night, blowing in ſuch ſteady gales, that we immediately changed our courſe to weſt, that we might not run needleſsly too far ſouth; the more, as the ſhip, by her violent lee-larches to ſtarboard, had been greatly ſtrained, and let in much water, ſo that we made twenty inches of water at the pump every watch.

On the 11th of October, ſeveral pieces of wood floated by us, that ſeemed to be pieces of a wreck; among others, one that reſembled a yard, or a topmaſt.

On the day after, we ſaw ſeveral bunches of ſeaweed, and patches of filth, together with a little landbird, although we were, at that time, full eighty leagues from the land.

On

On the 14th, we loſt the ſoutheaſterly tradewind, and found the wind veering to the weſt, with violent guſts, and ſhowers of rain.

As this weather continued, we had to conclude that, although it was but about the middle of October, the monſoon was already beginning to break up, and that, therefore, the northeaſt winds would prevail early to the north of the line, for which reaſon we judged it beſt to depart in ſo far from the Company's ſailing inſtructions, that, by the courſe we ſhould ſteer, we ſhould make the iſland of *Ceylon* to the eaſt of it, inſtead of to the weſt, and thus keep our wind; and we accordingly bore away on the 18th, ſteering N.W. and, on the 25th, north.

On the 30th of October, we caught a little landbird, a ſpecies of *motacilla*, which, as we were only forty minutes from under the line, we concluded came from a certain ſmall and low iſland, which is placed in the maps, and which the Indian Pilot ſpeaks of as ſituated hereabouts.

On the 2d of November, we paſſed the equinoctial, at 103° eaſt of *Teneriffe*, according to our dead-reckoning; but by an obſervation of the diſtance of the ſun and moon,

moon, made by a ſextant of fifteen inches range, by which we found ourſelves one degree more to the weſtward, it was in 102° of eaſt longitude that we paſſed the line.

Immediately on entering the northern hemiſphere, we met with nothing but weſterly winds, which blew in ſudden flaws, and with great violence, ſo that we ſometimes could not hang out a ſingle rag of canvas for a whole watch, and the ſhip, even when under her bare poles, rolled ſo much to leeward, that the ports of the upper deck were half under water, to which the diſproportionate narrowneſs of the ſhip, with regard to her length, did not a little contribute.

Heavy ſhowers of rain, and conſtant hazy weather, prevented us, for ſix days, from ſeeing the ſun at noon, by which we could not be certain of our latitude. This continued till the 8th of November, when this ſtormy weather abated, and on the 15th we met with the northeaſterly winds, in the north latitude of 63°, on which day we alſo ſaw a turtle and a little landbird.

On the 22d November, in the afternoon, one of the Javaneſe pilgrims fell overboard, and it was out of our power to ſave him, on account

account of the highrunning ſea, and the rapid headway of the veſſel.

I had let few opportunities paſs of taking obſervations of the diſtances of the fixed ſtars from the moon, with the beforementioned ſextant, and which ſeldom varied more than one degree from our longitude by dead-reckoning. I followed the calculations of Mr. DE BORDA, as given in the *Connoiſſance de Temps* of 1772, and I continued to take obſervations by them till the 20th of November, when I was prevented by indiſpoſition from going on with them, and none of the officers on board had any knowledge how to make thoſe calculations.

My obſervations of the 19th and 20th of November, gave variations with our eſtimation; the firſt of about one degree, and the other of twenty-five minutes, more to the eaſtward; and the laſt variation differed but nine minutes, from the obſervation which we made upon running in ſight of *Ceylon*, on the 24th of November.

We firſt diſcovered that iſland at half paſt one o'clock, P.M.; it appeared with a ſmall round hill, which, upon approaching nearer, we found to be the *Tepelberg*, or *Nipple-*

hill,

hill, ſo called, becauſe it has at the top, on each ſide, a round prominence, in the ſame ſituation, and reſembling in form, the nipples upon the breaſts of women.

At ſunſet we computed that we were two leagues abreaſt of the *Little Baixos*, which, with the *Great Baixos*, lying five leagues s.w. by s. from the former, are two dangerous rocky ſhoals, which require much caution, on making *Ceylon* from the eaſtward, properly to avoid, and at the ſame time not to loſe the land, by the violent currents which ſet off from it to the ſouthward; we likewiſe ſaw at that time a large obtuſe hill, or rock, cloſe to the ſeaſhore, which is called the *Elephant*.

At ſunriſe, the following day, being the 25th of November, we again ſaw the land of *Ceylon*, and ſteered for it; we were then abreaſt of *Mature*: at half paſt nine o'clock, A.M. we came in ſight of the city of *Punto Gallo*, the *Hooiberg*, or *Hayſtack*, and the *Pike of Adam*, the former being a round hill like a hayſtack, and the latter the ſpiry, but ſomewhat crooked, ſummit of an elevated mountain inland.

Half an hour afterwards, we ſtruck ſoundings, for the firſt time, off *Ceylon*, in thirty-eight fathoms, and at noon we had paſſed *Punto Gallo*; a ſhort time afterwards, we met with contrary winds, from the N.W. and north, which prevented us from gaining to windward as far as *Colombo*, which had been my intention, in order to make Cape *Comorin* with greater ſpeed and certainty. As it was, we did not get ſight of that promontory till the 30th of November.

On the 3d of December, we caſt anchor before *Ansjengo*, where the Engliſh have a fort and ſettlement. I received from the chief there a preſent of four baſkets of vegetables; which, on account of my continued indiſpoſition, was a moſt gratifying refreſhment.

The enſuing day we paſſed *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, the ſouthernmoſt fortreſs of our Company on the coaſt of *Malabar*, and determined to run into the road of *Cochim*, in order to take in a freſh ſupply of water. We let drop our anchor in that road, on the 6th of December, at eight o'clock, P.M. in ſeven fathoms, ſtiff clay bottom.

We

We found here at anchor two Portugueſe ſhips; the one a king's ſhip, on her voyage to *Liſbon*, and the other a merchant-veſſel: they both came from *Goa*. Farther to the north, lay at anchor the Company's ſhips *Hoolwerf* and *Honcoop*, commanded by Captains VAN DER KUYL and DELNE.

The next day I ſent my firſt lieutenant on ſhore, to give information to Mr. MOENS, governor of the *Malabar* coaſt, and counſellor of India, of my arrival, and my wants, not being yet in a fit ſtate to go on ſhore myſelf.

On the return of that officer, I learnt from him, that the Company were here in open hoſtility with the nabob of *Myſore*, HYDER ALI CHAN, otherwiſe called HYDER NAIC, and that he had taken poſſeſſion of what is called the *new conqueſt*, or the province of *Paponetty*; that the fort of *Chitva* had ſurrendered to him, and that he now threatened to attack *Cranganore*; on which ſubject I ſhall be more explicit in another place.

On the 11th, being ſomewhat better, I went on ſhore, in a countryboat which Mr.

Moens had ſent to fetch me, as it was more eaſy than my ſhip's boat. That gentleman likewiſe politely offered me the uſe of his houſe, during my ſtay here, which, together with good attendance, and much eaſe, ſoon re-eſtabliſhed me in perfect health.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Poſſeſſions of the Dutch on the Coaſt of MALABAR.—*Road of* COCHIM —*Account of the Coaſt.*—*Derivation of the Name of* MALABAR.—PAPONETTY. — *Monſoons.* — *The* GHAUTS.—*Fertility of the Country.*—*Productions.*—*Articles of Trade.*—*Inhabitants.*—*Their Religion.*—*Chriſtians of* ST. THOMAS.—*The Nairs.*—*Jews* — *Their Town.*—*Synagogues.*—*Copy of the Pentateuch.* —*Cuſtoms, &c.*

THE *Malabar*, or rather the forts of *Coylang*, *Cali Coylang*, *Cranganore*, and *Cananore*, which the Portugueſe eſtabliſhed on that coaſt, together with the city of *Cochim*, is a conqueſt made by the Company in the years 1662 and 1663, and which they ſtill poſſeſs, with the exception of *Cananore*, which, at the earneſt recommendation of Mr. SLNF, at that time governor of the *Malabar*, and perhaps by a repreſentation of its utter inutility, was ſold, in the year 1770, to the ſultan of *Anchediva*, for the ſum of one hundred thouſand rupees.

The country in which the above places are ſituated ſtill belongs to its ancient native ſovereigns, who, however, have been in ſuch ſtrict alliance with the Company, that it differed little from actual vaſſalage.

Theſe lands are bounded, on the ſouth, by the kingdom of *Travancore*, which, from time to time, has been ſuffered, by a miſtaken policy of the Company's miniſters, to be extended far to the eaſtward behind the lands of *Cochim*, as far as the river of *Cranganore*, ſo that the king of *Cochim* has but a little ſpace of ground left to him; to the north, they border upon the empire of the *ſamorin*, or king, of *Calicut*, which is, at preſent, under the dominion of HYDER ALI CHAN, who ſome years ago expelled the *ſamorin*, who has now ſought an aſylum with the king of *Travancore*; to the weſt, they are waſhed by the ſea, and in the good monſoon the whole coaſt may be ſaid to be a good road; the road of *Cochim*, however, is the chief, and is the moſt reſorted to, on account of the trade, which is principally carried on there. It is, according to good obſervations, in the north latitude of 9° 58′; the anchorage is in five,

ſix,

ſix, and ſeven fathoms water, muddy bottom, the flag of the city bearing from E. by N. to eaſt.

The coaſt is ſafe and clear, every where along the Company's eſtabliſhment, except at the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, where there is a reef, at the north ſide, which ſtretches out to ſea, about three quarters of a league; it is called the reef of *Aycotia* by our navigators: before *Coylang* there is a ſimilar one, but which does not extend half ſo far out. South of the abovementioned mouth of the river of *Cranganore*, there is a bay, formed by mudbanks; likewiſe one not far from *Porca*, and another ſouth of *Cochim*; the banks forming which extend full a league out to ſea, and into which veſſels may run with ſafety during the bad monſoon, and may lie in twenty and leſs feet water, almoſt without anchors or cables, in perfect ſecurity againſt the heavy ſeas which then roll in upon this lee-ſhore, as they break their force upon the ſoft mudbanks, and within them nothing but a ſlight motion is perceived.

According to what the Daniſh miſſion-

aries write, in their accounts of the Eaſt-Indies, Continuation the 22d, page 897, the name of *Malabar* is derived from the Malabar word *maleyalem*, denoting *mountainous:* the terminations *ar*, *tar*, and *bar*, ſignify in that language a *people*, or *nation*, conſequently *maleiwar*, or *maleibar*, would denote as much as *mountaineers*, or *inhabitants of the mountains:* the ſyllable *lei*, when uttered with rapidity, takes the ſound of *la*, and the name of *Malabar* was applied to the people, from the hilly country, who deſcended from the mountains, and ſettled upon the coaſt. Preface to WERENDLEY's *Maleidſche Spraakkunſt*, or *Grammar of the Malay Language*, pages 55 and 56.

That tract of country which is properly called the *Malabar*, lies nearly in the direction of N.W. and S.E. from Cape *Comorin* to *Canara*, between the eighth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude; to the eaſt, it is divided from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, by a high range of mountains, called the *Ghauts*, and it is waſhed to the ſouth-weſt by the Arabian ſea. The principal kingdoms which it comprehends are thoſe of

of *Trevancore*, *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, and *Calicut*; the firſt of which is now the chiefeſt and moſt powerful.

The extent of the Company's poſſeſſions, from *Coylang* to *Chittua* (for *Cananore* is no more, as I have before remarked, under their dominion), comprizes, from ſouth-eaſt to northweſt, a diſtance of thirty-two leagues; yet with the ſalvo, that, except the province of *Paponetty*, or what is called the *new conqueſt*, and a few ſmall diſtricts interſperſed along the coaſt, the Company poſſeſs no other actual property in the ſoil, than in that upon which their fortifications are conſtructed.

The land is every where low, and interſected by many rivers, which deſcend from the interior mountains; it abounds in plantations of trees, eſpecially of that uſeful one, the cocoanut-tree, and affords a very pleaſant proſpect.

Paponetty is a diſtrict, or iſland, about ten Dutch miles in length, and one and a half in breadth, within which, however, there are ſtill a few inſignificant villages, ſubject or tributary to the *ſamorin*, but which are mortgaged for a certain ſum to the

the Company; the whole of the remainder of it was conquered by us during the war, and was ceded to the Company by the peace which was made, in the year 1715, with that prince.

As is the caſe in moſt parts of India ſituated between the tropics, ſo here the year is divided into two ſeaſons, namely, the dry ſeaſon, and the rainy ſeaſon; the latter is called the bad, and the former the good monſoon; the bad monſoon is reckoned from October to April, and the other months conſtitute the good ſeaſon.

It is remarkable that this is ſolely occaſioned by the mountains of the *Ghauts*, for upon the coaſt of *Coromandel*, exactly the reverſe takes place with reſpect to the monſoons. As ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon, accompanied by very tempeſtuous weather, ſets in on that coaſt, it clears up on the *Malabar* coaſt, and is fine and dry weather all along the weſtern ſide of the great peninſula within the *Ganges*, as far as *Surat*; and *vice verſa* in the contrary caſe.

The winds, which blow from the north-eaſt throughout the whole of the Indian ocean, north of the line, during the bad monſoon,

monſoon, drive the clouds againſt the ſides of thoſe elevated mountains, where they condenſe, and fall in heavy ſhowers upon the country to the eaſtward of them; and in the like manner, in the other ſeaſon, when the winds blow from the ſouthweſt, that chain of mountains ſerves as a fence by which the ſtorms and tempeſts, raging on one ſide of them, are prevented from interrupting the ſerenity and ſunſhine which prevail at the ſame moment of time on the other. During the bad monſoon, it is only with great danger that veſſels can venture upon theſe coaſts.

The land of *Malabar* is every where interſected with rivers, which run down from the abovementioned mountains, and which render it fertile in the extreme, particularly in rice; the ſea likewiſe furniſhes a copious ſupply of fiſh; and proviſions are, in conſequence, ſo abundant and cheap, that a native inhabitant, with his family, can ſubſiſt with eaſe upon the value of ſix Dutch doits* per day.

* Equal to about three farthings of our money. *T.*

The

The firſt and principal article of trade produced upon the coaſt of *Malabar*, is pepper; of which ſuch abundance is collected in this country, that, according to the memorial of the commandant CUNES, addreſſed to his ſucceſſor in the commandery, GASPARD DE JONG, in the year 1756, no leſs than ten full cargoes (which may amount to between eight and nine millions of pounds weight) might be annually exported: but the half of this quantity is carried over the mountains to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, to the north, to the *Deckan*, and farther on to different parts of *Hindoſtan*.

The pepper from *Malabar* is eſteemed the beſt of all that is produced in *Aſia*, and is the moſt ſought after by all nations.

The areca-nut is the ſecond production of the country; it is conveyed by land to all parts of the peninſula, and likewiſe, by ſea, to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and to *Bengal*.

A third production is the wild cinnamon *, of which, it it ſaid, that a yearly quantity of one million of pounds, is exported

* *Caſſia lignea.*

to

to the Gulph of *Perſia*, and to the Red Sea. A ſmall proportion is likewiſe ſent to Europe, where it is principally made uſe of to adulterate the genuine, or Ceylon, cinnamon.

The two ſorts are, however, very diſtinct, and eaſily diſtinguiſhable; the genuine cinnamon of *Ceylon*, is of a yellowiſh red colour, and the wild ſort is much darker, and of a dirty red; it is likewiſe coarſer grained, and is worſe barked than the *Ceylon* cinnamon; it has, indeed, a ſimilarity of flavour, but by far not an equality of ſtrength, nor has it that pungent, yet gratifying, effect upon the tongue and palate. It is uſed on this coaſt, both by Europeans and natives, in room of the Ceylon ſort, for which there is not the leaſt demand here.

A production is likewiſe met with here, which might be made uſe of to adulterate mace, and from which it is not eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, at firſt ſight; it differs, however, in form, from real mace, which appears of a leafy texture, while this is in thinner filaments; the colour is exactly alike; but this has not the leaſt flavour of ſpicineſs,

and

and when chewed has a kind of reſiny taſte.

Coarſe cotton cloths are alſo made in the ſouthern parts, in the *Trevancore* country, but they do not form a conſiderable object of foreign trade. They are moſtly diſpoſed of to the Engliſh at *Ansjengo*.

Coir, or the ſtringy coat of the cocoa-nut, is equally exported in conſiderable quantities; it is partly, however, brought hither from the *Maldive* iſlands, and is uſed for making of cordage, with which both European and country ſhips and veſſels are provided.

Capok, forms alſo an article of trade, and is exported to *Bengal*, to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and to *China*.

Theſe are, to the beſt of my knowledge, the chief articles which the coaſt of *Malabar* yields, both for the inland and foreign trade.

The native inhabitants of the country are, in general, rather lean than otherwiſe: they are uſually of the ſame ſize and ſtature as the Gentoos at *Surat* and in *Bengal*; they are, however, much blacker, and nearly as black

black as the African negroes, yet their countenances are better formed.

Their religion is that of the Hindoos; but in the neighbourhood of our poſſeſſions they have been, in a great meaſure, converted to the Roman catholic religion, by the miſſionaries of that perſuaſion: there are likewiſe many Roman catholic churches here.

There are alſo here many chriſtians of thoſe called chriſtians of ST. THOMAS *, yet in much leſs numbers than Roman catholics.

Amongſt the Malabars, the *nairs* are the nobles and warriors of the land; they are known by the ſcymeter which they always wear whenever they ſtir abroad, and in the

* The chriſtians of St. Thomas are neſtorians, and follow, for the moſt part, the ceremonies of the Greek church; they perform the ſervices of religion in the Syriac language. The patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and afterwards of *Moſul*, uſed to ſend them their biſhops. They reject tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, and all image-worſhip; ſetting up, however, a croſs in their churches. They do not allow their prieſts to marry a ſecond time; and do not baptiſe their children till they are forty days old. In the time of VALENTYN, there were ſeventy-five churches of this ſect of chriſtians on the coaſt of *Malabar*. V.

management

management of which, I was told, they are very dexterous, particularly againſt a flying enemy. They have many privileges above the common people.

Their princes poſſeſs an almoſt abſolute authority over their ſubjects: they are not, however, allowed to enter into engagements, or contract alliances; which, however much to their own advantage, might be injurious to the intereſts of their ſubjects.

Beſides the original Malabars, people of various nations are to be met with here, who have been allured hither by the profits of trade; there are Moors, Arabians, Perſians, and, amongſt others, a colony of Jews, who, as they pretend, are the poſterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by SHALMANESER, and who, after being liberated from their Aſſyrian bonds, came hither, where they have, from time immemorial, conſtituted a ſmall, but iſolated, people, who have been greatly favoured by the princes of the country, and have received from them, and enjoyed for a ſeries of ages, a number of valuable privileges; amongſt which, the free permiſſion to exerciſe

erciſe their religion without reſtraint, may not be conſidered as the moſt unimportant.

They dwell in a ſeparate-town, the houſes of which are built of ſtone, and are moſtly plaiſtered white on the outſide: in it are three ſynagogues, the chiefeſt and largeſt of which I compute to be thirty-five or forty feet in length, and about one-third leſs in breadth; the floor of it is laid with ſquare tiles, of blue and white Canton china; the caſe, in which their copies of the books of Moses are preſerved, ſtands oppoſite to the entrance, and is made of very beautiful wood; in the middle of this place of worſhip ſtands the pulpit for the reader, or expounder of the law, and above it hangs a large braſs branched candleſtick, by which, and by the lamps which are fixed along the ſides, it is lighted up in the evening.

When the Dutch made their firſt attempt upon *Cochin*, in the year 1662, the Jews ſecretly favoured them; but they paid dear for their interference; for the Portugueſe, who ſoon diſcovered it, plundered them of almoſt all they had, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed: they deſtroyed, or attempted to deſtroy, their ſynagogues, and every thing that

belonged to them: and it is worthy of obſervation, that, when the Dutch made themſelves maſters of *Cochim*, the year afterwards, and the Jews were reinſtated by them in their former condition, their Pentateuch was found by accident, or had been preſerved by religious care, uninjured and entire. I was informed, by a perſon well verſed in ſuch matters, that their copy of the Pentateuch, is a very beautiful and authentic one, and the memory of the time when it firſt came into their hands, has been entirely loſt.

Although moſt of them are nearly as black as the native Malabars, they yet retain, both men and women, thoſe characteriſtic features which diſtinguiſh this ſingular people from all the other nations of the earth.

Moſt of them are employed in trade, both in large and in ſmall: here, as well as elſewhere, the Jews are addicted to traffic; and, from the adventuring merchant, to the retailing pedlar, they are the genuine devotees of intereſt and commerce. Some of the Jew merchants of *Cochim*, are not ſhy of purchaſing entire cargoes of goods. One

of

of them, called EZECHIEL, who died ſome years ago, had drawn moſt of the Cochim trade into his own hands; he left three ſons, who are ſtill alive, and who are among the moſt opulent and principal merchants of the place.

When theſe Jews purchaſe a ſlave, they immediately manumit him; they circumciſe him, and receive him as their fellow Iſraelite, and never treat him as a ſlave.

The town, or village, which they inhabit has received the appellation of *Makwan Sieri.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Deſcription of COCHIM.—*Its Fortifications and Means of Defence.—Buildings.—Government.—Retrenchment of the Eſtabliſhment in* 1698.—*The Cu'poſts or Factories.—Hiſtorical Relation of the Concerns of the Dutch on the Coaſt of Malabar.—War with the Samorin.—Sentiments of Mr.* VAN IMHOFF.—*Alliance with the King of* TRAVANCORE.—*Uſurpations of* HYDER ALI CHAN.—*His Diſputes with the Dutch—And open Hoſtilities.*—CHITTUA *taken by him.—Overtures for Accommodation of the Diſputes.—Trade of the Company here.—Charges and Profits.*

IN the laſt chapter I have enumerated the Company's poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Malabar*. *Cochin* is the capital of them, the ſeat of government, and the reſidence of the governor.

This city ſtands at the northweſt point of an iſland, which is about eighteen Dutch miles in length, and two in breadth: to the ſouth the iſland is formed by the mouth of the river of *Cali Coylang*, and to the north by

by that which runs from *Cranganore*, and ſeparates it from the iſland of *Baypin*. The form of the city is nearly ſemicircular, and it is about a mile and a half in circumference: on the landſide it is fortified by ſix large baſtions and a cavalier, and to the eaſtward it has an irregular outwork; on the waterſide, it is provided with a ſubſtantial wall, in which there are loopholes for ſmall arms, and which terminates at the eaſt end in a ravelin before the cavalier: a wet ditch runs round theſe works, and before it is a covered way and glacis, tolerably well executed. The fortifications have been repaired, and reſtored, by governor MOENS, out of the very ruinous condition into which they had been ſuffered to fall by former governors.

Although it cannot be ſaid that the greateſt part of theſe fortifications are conſtructed according to the exact rules of art, yet the place is ſufficiently fortified to withſtand a *coup de main*, and it would require a regular ſiege to take it. Approaches cannot even be made from any other quarter than the ſouth, where there is a dry and level plain; for to the eaſtward, as far as the rivers, there

are ſeveral moraſſes, which would render an attack on that ſide extremely difficult: beſides, the place is fortified the ſtrongeſt on that ſide, and is the weakeſt by the ſeaſide. In order to remedy this defect in ſome meaſure, a kind of ravelin has been conſtructed between the baſtion *Gelderland* and the beach; but it is not, in my judgment, of ſufficient ſtrength, or importance, to deter an enemy from making an attempt on that ſide.

The city cannot be attacked by veſſels from the river, until the fire of the baſtion *Gelderland*, and of the ravelin *Overyſſel*, be ſilenced, which could only be done by batteries to be erected at the ſouthern extremity of the oppoſite iſland of *Baypin*. The ſecurity of the place would, however, be much augmented, by the deſtruction of the wood which lies about a mile and a half ſoutheaſt from the city, whereby the enemy would be deprived of a very important advantage for the carrying on of their operations, namely, the timber and faſcines neceſſary for conſtructing of batteries, and for filling up the moraſſes, ſtagnant pools, and ditches in their way. The woods, which cover

cover the ſouthern part of *Baypin*, and which extend down to the beach oppoſite to the city, ought equally to ſhare the ſame fate.

Cochim has three gates; one to the weſtward, called the Bay-gate; one to the eaſtward, called the New-gate; and one to the northward, leading to the river, called the Water-gate.

The principal buildings are, the church, and the government-houſe. The former is a pretty large, oblong, edifice, in which there is a very indifferent organ; the latter is a roomy, commodious, and airy manſion, fronting a large plain, and appropriated for the reſidence of the governor; oppoſite to it ſtands the mainguard, and on the left ſide are the barracks for the body-guards of the governor.

The ſtreets, which are, in general, wide, are neatly kept, but they are not embelliſhed with many handſome houſes. There is a city-hotel, where ſtrangers are accommodated with lodgings; our countrymen pay a rixdollar, and foreigners two rupees, per day, for board and lodging: the keeping

of the hotel is annually farmed out by the government.

The chief of this eſtabliſhment bears, at preſent, the title of governor and director; the gentleman who filled that office when I was here, was Mr. ADRIAN MOENS, of *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, who was at the ſame time councellor-extraordinary of India. When the chief is not a member of the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, he has only the title and rank of commandant.

A council is adjoined in the direction, to the governor; conſiſting of the ſecond, who is a ſenior merchant, the fiſcal, the chief of the military, the warehouſekeeper, the *diſpenſer*, or purveyor, and all the junior merchants who may be in the ſettlement, either in, or out of, office; as alſo, I believe, at preſent, the comptroller of equipment, becauſe the rank of ſea-captain has now been given to him: the council have a ſecretary, who is a junior merchant, tranſlator of the Malabar language, and at the ſame time chief of *Coylang*.

The outpoſts, or forts, are managed by bookkeepers, as reſidents: theſe are, with the

the exception of *Coylang*, or *Quilon*, five in number; namely, one at *Cranganore*, one at *Cali Coylang*, or *Quile Quilon*, one at *Porca*, one at *Paponetty*, and one at *Chittua*, which laſt is actually a priſoner in the hands of HYDER ALI CHAN.

The chief of the military poſſeſſes the rank and title of major; and the chief of the artillery that of captain-lieutenant.

I do not know the exact number of troops that are uſually ſtationed here; but I believe that they may amount to about four hundred effective men.

The ſervices of public worſhip are performed by one clergyman in orders, and two *krankbezoekers* *.

Amongſt the ſeveral conqueſts and ſettlements which the Dutch Company have made, or eſtabliſhed, in the Indies, that of the *Malabar* is not one of the moſt advantageous or important to the Dutch. It coſts

* In 1776-1777, the whole eſtabliſhment of the Dutch, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, conſiſted of, 102 perſons in civil, and three in eccleſiaſtical, employments; ten ſurgeons and aſſiſtants; ſixty belonging to the artillery; forty-nine ſeamen and marines; 613 ſoldiers, and thirty mechanics: in all 867 Europeans, beſides 405 natives. *T.*

the

the Company much money, on account of the deſtructive wars in which they have in conſequence engaged, the rivalry in trade of numerous competitors, and, though laſt not leaſt, the infidelity and peculation of their ſervants.

It was but a ſhort time after the firſt capture of theſe poſſeſſions from the Portugueſe, that the direction which had been eſtabliſhed in them was found to be too cumberſome and expenſive, and a reſolution was accordingly taken in October of the year 1686, that the fortifications of *Cochim*, *Cranganore*, *Cananore*, and *Coylang*, ſhould not be kept up, the garriſons be withdrawn or reduced, and the number of the Company's qualified ſervants conſiderably diminiſhed. But the execution of this reſolution was, for various reaſons, delayed till the general reviſion of the affairs of the Company by the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, made on the 19th of Auguſt, 1697; and till after the opinion of Mr. JOHN VAN HOORN, the then director general, was delivered in. The reſult of this reſolution was principally as follows:

I. That

I. That the fortifications of the city of *Cochim*, which, by the large garriſon it required, and the continual reparations to be made, in conſequence of the great extent of the walls, were too expenſive for the Company to maintain, ſhould be reduced by one-half.

II. That of the preſent fortifications of *Cananore*, the Portugueſe tower ſhould only be preſerved, with a garriſon of twenty, or, at the moſt, twenty-five, European ſoldiers, to which number the preſent garriſon ſhould be reduced.

III. That at *Cranganore* *, the ancient interior works ſhould only be preſerved, with a garriſon of twenty Europeans, which is judged a ſufficient number for the purpoſes of the Company here.

IV. That it is likewiſe judged adviſable at *Coylang* no more ſhould be retained than the old Portugueſe tower, or as much of the preſent works as may be thought neceſſary

* *Cranganore* was ſold by the Dutch to the king of *Travancore*, taken from him by HYDER ALI, and retaken by the Engliſh in 1790. *Cochim*, *Quilon*, *Quile Quilon*, and the other ſettlements of the Dutch on the coaſt of *Malabar*, have ſhared the fate of the greater part of their Indian poſſeſſions, and are actually in the hands of the Engliſh. *T.*

for

for the intereſt of the Company, with fifteen or twenty men, to which number the eſtabliſhment there ſhould be reduced; and that the remainder of the fortifications of the three laſt mentioned places ſhould be removed or demoliſhed.

It was further thereby determined that all military outpoſts ſhould be withdrawn, except that *Paponetty*, *Porca*, and *Cali Coylang*, ſhould be retained as reſidencies, or factories, in order to keep an eye over what might be going forward all along the coaſt, and to avail of ſuch opportunities of trade as might occur; that a bookkeeper, or aſſiſtant, or elſe a truſty and intelligent ſerjeant, with two private ſoldiers, or ſeamen, ſhould be ſtationed at each place, and alſo at *Tengenapatnam*, as ſoon as the diſputes with the queen of *Ansjengo* ſhall have been amicably adjuſted.

The veſſels of all deſcriptions were to be reduced to one ſmall yatch, two sloops, and three rowboats; for it was determined not to obſtruct any more, by meaſures of conſtraint and harſhneſs, the navigation of the Malabars, and their trade in the productions of their country, conſiſting chiefly in areca-

nuts,

nuts, wild cinnamon, and pepper, which the Company could not excluſively purchaſe from them.

The number of pieces of artillery, which ſhould thenceforward be employed upon the fortifications, ſhould be fixed at ninety-five pieces of iron, and ſix pieces of braſs, ordnance, with two mortars. And about five hundred and thirty Europeans, and thirty-ſeven natives, were judged ſufficient for the ſervice of the Company.

Upon this, the charges diminiſhed conſiderably in the year 1698; and it is ſurpriſing that the reſolutions juſt now detailed had not before been taken, and put in execution, ſince the experience of thirty years had already pointed out the injurious tendency of the former expenſive eſtabliſhment, with no adequate benefit. The oſtentation of a great power which coſt the Company ſuch large ſums of money, had not the effect of producing in the native princes that degree of awe and apprehenſion, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary for carrying on an excluſive trade.

Thus, Mr. SWAARDEKROON, in his memorial on the ſubject of the *Malabar* coaſt, of

of the 31ſt of May, 1698, ſhews how little the power of the Company was feared by the rajah of *Cali Coylang*, who traded openly with that notorious pirate, WILLIAM KIDD.

His words are remarkable when, farther on, ſpeaking of the conqueſt of the *Malabar*, he ſays, "that it is to be regretted that the "Company carried ſo much ſail here in the "beginning, that they are now deſirous of "ſtriking them, in order to avoid being "overſet."

In the year 1701, a war broke out between the Company and the ſamorin, which was put an end to by a treaty of peace, concluded on the 8th of January, 1710; but which was no longer maintained than till the year 1715, when the ſamorin ſurpriſed the fort of *Chittua*, which had been conſtructed in order to keep him in check: this event was followed by a memorable campaign, under the command of the counſellor of India, WILLIAM BAKKER, at the head of full four thouſand men, both Europeans and natives, who ſubdued the whole of the enemy's country; notwithſtanding which, no proportionate advantages were gained by the peace concluded with the ſamorin, on the

17th

17th of December, 1717, in compariſon with what might and ought to have been inſiſted on.

During this war, the Engliſh, or rather their commandant at *Tellicherry*, had aſſiſted the ſamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners. But the worſt conſequences of the war were, that the charges of the *Malabar* government were not the leſs for it ſince it had been ended; on which account the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, in their ſecret diſpatches to *Malabar*, of the 30th of September, 1721, expreſs, in particular, their aſtonishment at the renewed ſpirit of hoſtility towards the native powers manifeſted by the Company's ſervants, and at the extravagance of the expences incurred by them. They further write, that they were of opinion, that, in caſe the ſamorin thought fit to attack the king of *Cochim*, who had ſo long enjoyed the protection of the Company, they ſhould not take an active part in the quarrel, without, however, entering into any particular engagement with the ſamorin, to remain neutral, till it ſhould be abſolutely requiſite to interfere.

Nevertheleſs, the charges, inſtead of being reduced

reduced within tolerable bounds, on the contrary, grew more exorbitant.

In the year 1739, Mr. VAN IMHOFF came from *Ceylon*, in order to examine into theſe affairs, and ſent a report concerning them to the government at *Batavia*, by his letter of the 6th of July, 1739, in which he ſays, that the king of *Travancore* having been ſucceſsful in the wars which he had undertaken, had rendered himſelf ſo much reſpected among the chief kings of the *Malabar* coaſt, that he was looked upon by every one with eyes of jealouſy and apprehenſion.

Mr. VAN IMHOFF was, therefore, of opinion, that if it were requiſite for the Company to maintain a balance of power amongſt the chiefs of the *Malabar* coaſt, it could never be made to preponderate more to the prejudice or danger of the Company, than in favour of that prince, who was almoſt wholly attached to their competitors, and whoſe encreaſe of power could not but be pregnant with the moſt alarming conſequences to their intereſts, whilſt he, at the ſame time, merited ſome chaſtiſement for his inſolence towards them, independent of the primary conſideration of maintaining a due

due balance among the native powers of the *Malabar*.

That gentleman ſays, in another place, that there were but two ways to effect a reformation in the affairs of this government, which was abſolutely neceſſary, as matters could poſitively not remain any longer in the ſituation in which they then were. One of theſe was, to follow the marketprice in the purchaſe of pepper, that at leaſt ſo much might be procured as was wanted for the return-ſhips from *Ceylon*. The other was, to enforce the contracts, by means of more energy, than thoſe which had hitherto been employed; and to make thoſe princes, who did not fulfil their engagements, feel the weight of the reſentment, and the power of the arms of the Company, by exacting the penalties for the non-performance of their contracts, by force of arms and military execution, or by ſurpriſing and carrying off to *Batavia* one or other of thoſe princes, who ſhewed themſelves the moſt refractory, which would create ſo much terror among them, that it would not be neceſſary to reſort to the ſame expedient a ſecond time.

Of theſe two means of redreſs, he diſap-

proved of the firſt, alleging, that to follow the marketprice would, at that time, be both unprofitable and unjuſt, and, in future, unadviſable, and even dangerous and alarming for the intereſts of the Company. In reſult, he concluded that the ſecond method would be the beſt.

Upon this, the people in the adminiſtration on the coaſt, immediately ſet about attacking *Travancore*, without even aſking orders from *Batavia* on the ſubject. It was, however, ſpeedily requiſite to ſend for aſſiſtance from *Java*, in order to carry on the enterprize that had been begun; for, of all the princes who were repreſented by Mr. VAN IMHOFF as ready and willing to join their arms to thoſe of the Company, the rajah of *Cali Coylang* alone, came to their aſſiſtance; and his attachment to us was his ruin, for his dominions were ſubdued by the king of *Travancore*, after our troops had been compelled to ſurrender their fortreſſes in *Travancore*, and to abandon the field.

In the mean time the expences and loſſes of the eſtabliſhment encreaſed ſo much, that notwithſtanding all the profits from the year 1740 to 1745, this commandery run greatly

greatly in arrear. This war, that of *Java*, and the Macaſſer war, which were all waged at the ſame time, ſet the Company materially backward in their affairs.

The conſequence of this inconſiderate conduct was a great decline in the reputation and importance of the Company on the coaſt of *Malabar*; for they concluded a treaty of peace, by which their allies were wholly abandoned, and left to themſelves, without any conditions or interference on the part of the Company in their behalf; and, on the other hand, we entered into an excluſive alliance with the king of *Travancore*, as the moſt powerful prince in the country; the whole agreeable to a determination which had been taken on the ſubject at *Batavia*, and the inſtructions, to that effect, which were ſent off on the 18th of October, 1748.

A ſtricter union afterwards took place between the Company and the king of *Travancore*, and a firm treaty of peace and alliance was made with him on the 15th of Auguſt, 1753, by which their hands were for ever tied from interfering in the Malabar diſputes. The ninth article of this treaty does not appear in a light very honourable

to the Company; it ſtipulates, that the Company ſhall recede from all engagements which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes, whom the king of *Travancore* might chooſe to attack, and on no account interfere in their diſputes, or afford them aſſiſtance or ſhelter; nor in any reſpect raiſe any oppoſition to the enterprizes of the king.

This was the main ſpring of all; this was the chief object of the king of *Travancore*, and that in which he moſtly intereſted himſelf. Filled with the intention, and fired with the idea, of making extenſive conqueſts, he knew no obſtacle ſo powerful to prevent the accompliſhment of his deſires, as the power of the Company; and by this treaty he ſecured an open field before him, for turning his arms to whatever quarter he choſe.

It was not long before he availed himſelf of the advantage he had obtained. He made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Tekkan Koui*, whoſe prince was left unaided by his neighbours and allies; and of ſeveral other places, to which the neutrality of the Company gave eaſy opportunities.

By the twentieth article of the abovementioned

tioned treaty, the Company bound themſelves to provide that prince annually, to the value of twelve thouſand rupees, or eighteen thouſand gilders, various ſorts of warlike ſtores and ammunition, and the prices of theſe articles were fixed as follows, viz.

a firelock at - - rupees 7. 16. or *f.* 11	11	(*£.* 1 0 ſterl.)
one hundred gunflints, - - -	0 13	(0 1 2)
a pound of gunpowder, - - -	0 13	(0 1 2)
one hundred leaden muſket bullets,	0 14	(0 1 3)

as likewiſe ſome ironwork, and braſs cannon.

On the other hand, the king engaged to ſell to the Company, all the cotton cloths, and every year three thouſand *candils* of pepper, of five hundred pounds weight each, together with all the other productions which the lands he was already poſſeſſed of, yielded: and the further quantity of two thouſand *candils* of pepper out of thoſe territories which he might in future conquer. For which the Company, according to articles V and VI, engaged to pay, namely, for each *candil* of good and ſound pepper, properly *harped* or ſifted, from the kingdoms of *Travancore* and *Ansjengo*, ſixty-five rupees (*f.* 97 15 —), and for the pepper produced in the countries which the king of *Travancore* might ſucceed

in ſubduing, in conſequence of the neutrality of the Company, fifty-five rupees (*f.*82 15 —) per *candil*; and moreover an export-duty of four *fanam rageas* * per *candil*.

The twenty-fourth article ſays; that the king ſhall beſides receive an annual douceur, or preſent, from the Company, the value, however, of which was left to be fixed by them; this was afterwards ſettled, by the government of *Batavia*, at five thouſand gilders †, upon the condition that the ſtipulated quantity of pepper ſhould be duly delivered.

The twenty-fifth article ſtates; that the Company's ſubjects ſhall be left unmoleſted in the lands, which have anciently belonged to them.

By this means *Travancore* became ſo powerful, that all the other princes of *Malabar*, ſeeing that the Company remained inactive, and beheld with eyes of indifference, or of approbation, the encreaſing greatneſs of its rajah, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to engage the Company to alter their conduct, as well by offering to furniſh them with various quantities of pepper, as by giving

* A *fanam* is about the value of 3*d.* ſterling. *T.*

† About £.454 ſterling. *T.*

ſecret informations of the evil intentions of the king of *Travancore* towards the Dutch.

But perceiving, at length, that every propoſal was rejected, and every information ſlighted, with the cooleſt indifference, they then had recourſe to the ſamorin, whom they perſuaded to enter into hoſtilities againſt the Company; imagining, that if they were once obliged to take up arms, matters would come round again, according to their wiſhes.

The ſamorin finding, that inſtead of being reſiſted, the only arms oppoſed againſt him were ineffectual remonſtrances, and vain menaces, grew bolder every day, till he at laſt overrun the Company's province of *Paponetty*, ſo that they were at length compelled to ſend a detachment of troops thither, to expel him from the territory of the Company; which was effected. But it was not long before the ſamorin made a new incurſion into the Company's territory, and with better fortune, ſo that our people were forced to retire to *Cranganore*, with the loſs of eight pieces of artillery, leaving the ſamorin in poſſeſſion of *Paponetty*. Upon this he made preparations to invade the kingdom of *Cranganore*, which he ſhortly afterwards did, with an army of

five thouſand men, and endeavoured to throw up ſome fortifications at *Ayçotta*, in order to obſtruct the navigation of the river, but in which he was fortunately prevented by our people.

The flames of war approaching thus by degrees nearer and nearer, and not having a ſufficient number of troops at hand, to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy, the government of *Malabar* came to a reſolution, on the 20th of October, 1756, to requeſt the aſſiſtance of a few hundred men from *Ceylon*, but the government of that iſland, being themſelves in want of troops, excuſed themſelves, on that ground, by their letter of the 14th of November following.

Before the troops of the ſamorin had advanced ſo far, Mr. CUNES, who was at that time the governor and commander in chief on the coaſt of *Malabar*, had written to the kings of *Cranganore* and *Airoer*, who were almoſt, as it were, the ſubjects of the Company, deſiring them to ſtation their *nairs* upon the frontiers of the province of *Paponetty*, in order to prevent the incurſions of the enemy; but theſe princes openly took part with the ſamorin; and not without reaſon; the Company

pany had ſet them the example, and had firſt abandoned them, and left them at the mercy of the king of *Travancore:* why then ſhould they abandon the ſamorin, who was now their only hope and ſupport? Would they not then themſelves have aſſiſted in forging thoſe fetters, which the king of *Travancore* would otherwiſe not have failed to caſt upon them, to which the Company, by their miſtaken policy, had ſmoothed the way?

When the king of *Travancore* was informed, by the commandant CUNES, of the hoſtilities which the ſamorin had committed againſt the Company, he anſwered with the greateſt compoſure, "that he had told the "ambaſſadors of the ſamorin, that they "ſhould diſſuade their maſter from doing ſo."

It was, at the ſame time, pretty well aſcertained, that, far from uſing any diſſuaſive arguments, the king of *Travancore* had, on the contrary, greatly encouraged the ſamorin to perſevere in his hoſtile exertions; truſting that, when matters came to greater extremities, the Company would call in his aſſiſtance, and that he ſhould thereby have better opportunities of carrying on his projects of aggrandizement and conqueſt.

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The ſamorin, whoſe object was not ſo much the making war on the Company, as the prevention of a further encreaſe of power in the king of *Travancore*, made propoſals of accommodation himſelf, offering even to furniſh yearly two thouſand *candils* of pepper to the Company, if they would but reſolve to join their forces to his, and attack the king of *Travancore*; but far from liſtening to theſe propoſals, or entering into treaty concerning them, ſo many preliminary articles of diſcuſſion were ſtarted, and conditions propoſed, as if the Company had been the conquerors: this conduct appears to have been ſolely grounded upon an unwillingneſs to depart from their favourite ſyſtem, or from the conditions of the engagement latterly entered into with *Travancore*; to which every thing was to be ſacrificed. Yet inſtead of this conduct inducing the king of *Travancore* to be more and more attached to the Company's intereſt, he, on the contrary, after the diſputes with the ſamorin were accommodated, had the hardineſs to declare, that the Company muſt, in time, be contented with the delivery of his products in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch quantities, as he choſe

choſe to allow; and that he did not intend to look upon them in any other light, than in that of merchants, not poſſeſſed of any territorial juriſdiction, or ſupreme authority, and who ought to follow the market-prices in paying for their purchaſes.

Of all the Malabar princes he thus remained the only formidable neighbour of the Company, doing, without oppoſition, whatever he liked; which continued till lately when a ſtill more dreaded enemy, both to himſelf and the Company, aroſe, one whoſe name has become famous by his wars againſt the Engliſh, the juſtly celebrated HYDER ALI CHAN BAHAUDER, otherwiſe HYDER NAIG, who, by his conſummate courage and conduct, raiſed himſelf from the condition of a common trooper, to be maſter of the kingdom of *Myſore* (where he aſſumed only, however, the title of nabob, becauſe the king of *Myſore* is ſtill living, although kept in confinement by the uſurper), and ſubdued the province of *Canara*, and the kingdom of *Calicut*, forcing the ſamorin to ſeek a refuge with the king of *Travancore*. HYDER ALI is now become the moſt formidable potentate of this part of India; and if the Marattas, with whom he

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is inceſſantly at war, did not ſtand in his way, he would, in all probability, preſcribe laws to the whole peninſula within the *Ganges*, in a very ſhort time.

An implacable enemy of the Engliſh, of his hatred for which nation he has given innumerable proofs, and burning with the deſire of ſupplanting the nabob of the *Carnatic*, upon the coaſt of *Coromandel*, who was in every thing ſubſervient to the Engliſh, he had in view to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Travancore* *, in order to leave

* The only prince on the *Malabar* coaſt who had eſcaped the oppreſſion and violence of HYDER ALI, was the king of *Travancore*. His means of defence were extraordinary and romantic. Around his capital, and chief province, he ſuffered the woods to grow for a number of years, till they formed an impenetrable belt of great depth. This, cut into labyrinths, afforded eaſy egreſs to his people, and rendered all attacks from without impracticable. Immured within this natural fortification, he encouraged the cultivation of the arts and ſciences; he invited the approach of men of genius and knowledge; he cultivated the friendſhip of the brahmins, and was himſelf admitted into their ſociety, by the ceremony of paſſing through a golden cow; and by preparing his own military ſtores, caſting of cannon, making of gunpowder, &c. he rendered himſelf independent of foreign aid. The ſubjects of his remoter provinces, to avoid the ravages of war, took refuge within the woody circle; and, whenever they could do it with ſafety, returned, with their families and effects, to their former habitations. *T.*

no enemy behind him, when he attacked the *Carnatic*; for this reaſon, he ſent, about a year ago, to requeſt of the government of the *Malabar*, a free paſſage for his troops thither, through, or along, the territories of the Company.

The refuſal of this requeſt, and the delay of a reply to a letter, which he had diſpatched, accompanied with conſiderable preſents, to the ſupreme government at *Batavia* (which delay was occaſioned by the length of the voyage performed by the veſſel, by which the letter and preſents were ſent, and likewiſe by a little negligence of which the people at *Batavia* were guilty, ſo that the ſhip from *Batavia*, that arrived on the coaſt of *Malabar* the following year, brought neither anſwer or preſents, in return to HYDER ALI, or the leaſt notice of the matter to Governor MOENS), excited a great degree of reſentment in the breaſt of the haughty Myſorean, who was then, indiſputably, the greateſt prince in thoſe parts. This, Mr. MOENS endeavoured to ſoften as much as poſſible, by writing at one time, that the extraordinary length of the voyage was the occaſion of the delay, and at another, that the

reply

reply to his diſpatches would come by the Coromandel or Ceylon ſhips; but nothing could efface the impreſſions which this imaginary, or real, affront, had made in the vindictive heart of HYDER ALI, who intimated without reſerve, that he very well perceived that the Company cared little for his friendſhip.

Mr. MOENS, who foreſaw that it would be impoſſible to avoid coming to a rupture with this powerful and reſtleſs prince, principally becauſe his requeſt to be allowed to march through the territories of the Company, in order to attack the country of *Travancore*, was refuſed, entered into cloſer engagements with the kings of *Travancore* and of *Cochim*, to aſſiſt each other with all their might in caſe of need. The latter ſeemed even inclined to act offenſively, in order not to be liable to undergo the ſame fate as the ſamorin; but this was diſcouraged by Mr. MOENS, who knew very well that the whole burthen and expence of the war would fall upon the Company, as the puſillanimity of the native princes, and their dread of the arms of HYDER ALI, were too great, to expect any effectual co-operation from them.

The

The flames of war, which had been ſo long a kindling, burſt out at length, in the month of October, 1716. HYDER ALI ſent his general, CHA DERGAM, with eight or ten thouſand men, to make an irruption into the poſſeſſions of the Company, namely, in the ſandy country or province of *Paponetty*; he ravaged the country with fire and ſword, and laid ſiege to the fort of *Chittua*; this fort, which is a ſquare, with four demi-baſtions, had been duly provided with a ſufficient garriſon, and ammunition and proviſions enough to hold out for ſome time.

The ſaid general, CHA DERGAM, iſſued a manifeſto, in the name of his maſter, the nabob HYDER ALI, by which he alleged that certain lands, ſituated within the province of *Paponetty*, belonged to the empire of the ſamorin, and that *Calicut* having been conquered by him, he required thoſe lands to be delivered up to him by the Company, as an appendage to it.

To this, Mr. MOENS replied, that thoſe lands had been mortgaged many years ago to the Company, by the ſamorin, for the ſum of twelve thouſand rupees; but that he

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was ready, at any time, to deliver them up to whoever would repay to the Company the money for which they had been mortgaged: but no anſwer, or at leaſt not a ſatisfactory one, was given to this.

Mr. MOENS, whoſe military force, agreeable to the cuſtomary ſparingneſs of the Company, in this reſpect, was very trifling, ſcarcely amounting to two hundred effective men, had, upon the burſting of the ſtorm, immediately written, in preſſing terms, for a reinforcement of troops and veſſels from *Ceylon*; and, by the diligent zeal of the governor there, Mr. FALK, theſe were ſent with ſuch expedition, that the troops were diſembarked at *Cochim*, on the 4th of November, and were directly ſent off to *Cranganore* and *Ayeotte*, in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating in that quarter, and getting footing in the iſland of *Baypin*, whilſt the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochim* threw up ſome ſtrong and fortified lines, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, in order to defend their lands from an irruption on that ſide. On our ſide too, great aſſiduity was uſed, in forming a retrenchment under the

the guns of *Cranganore*, and in fortifying *Aycotte*, that *Baypin* might be ſtill better covered againſt any hoſtile attempt.

Chittua having now been inveſted for a long time, the garriſon ſent word to Mr. MOENS, that if they were not ſpeedily ſuccoured, they would be obliged to ſurrender, for want of proviſions and ammunition.

Upon receiving this intelligence, Mr. MOENS determined to relieve that ſmall, but important fort, whatever it might coſt; that the enemy who were in force between *Chittua* to the north, and *Cranganore* to the ſouth, might not be without ſome object of apprehenſion and check in their rear.

The Ceylon reinforcement had likewiſe come very opportunely for that purpoſe; and every thing being prepared for the expedition, and the ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition for the garriſon of *Chittua* being packed in ſmall caſes and caſks, in order to admit of an caſier and more ſpeedy conveyance on ſhore, and into the fort, the ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy or eighty men, were embarked on board the ſhip *Hoolwerf*, and a ſufficient number of ſmall veſſels were provided for

the purpoſe of diſembarking the men, and landing the ſtores and proviſions, intended for the relief of *Chittua.*

On the ſame day that they ſailed in the morning, they anchored, at noon, abreaſt of *Chittua:* the commanding officer of the military wiſhed to attempt a landing immediately; but, by the advice of the captain of the ſhip, who conceived that the ſurf upon the reef, where they would be obliged to land before they could get to *Chittua*, ran too high at that time, to render the attempt practicable, as likewiſe that the ſmall veſſels which were to convey the ſoldiers and ſtores on ſhore, were not yet in readineſs, or in a proper ſituation, the attempt was deferred till the next day.

This expedition was planned and executed with ſo much ſecrecy, that the enemy were wholly uninformed of it, until they beheld the ſhip caſt anchor before *Chittua*; and the delay in landing, gave an opportunity to the nabob's general, who immediately ſuſpected the cauſe of the large ſhip, and ſo many ſmall veſſels, having anchored on the coaſt, to ſend, with all ſpeed, a conſiderable number of his troops to take poſt upon

upon the reef, or rather the ſpit of land, which for ſome years had been waſhed up between *Chittua* and the ſea; where they placed themſelves in ambuſcade, waiting for the landing of our men.

Theſe, ignorant of this circumſtance, attempted to land on the following day, at noon; but, unfortunately, the firſt veſſel, which had the ſoldiers on board, overſet, as ſoon as it entered the ſurf; the men, however, got ſafe to land; but they had not proceeded many yards, before they were attacked by the party of the enemy that lay there in ambuſh: they could not oppoſe much reſiſtance to them, as their firelocks, and the greateſt part of their ammunition, had been drenched in ſea-water: the commanding officer, therefore, immediately ordered his detachment to retreat to the beach; but here they were again diſappointed, for the affrighted natives, who had navigated the veſſel in which they came, having recovered her, had put off from the ſhore again, and none of the others durſt encounter the ſurf; ſo that, after having defended themſelves for a ſhort time, as well as they were able, ſeveral of them being killed, and many

wounded, the detachment was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the enemy.

The conſequences of the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, were conſiderably prejudicial to us.

The enemy obtained a freſh degree of courage, from the advantage they had gained over us in this action, and our people were not a little diſheartened by it, as they had loſt a conſiderable proportion of their ſmall number of European troops, and were obliged by it to abandon *Chittua* to its fate. That place ſurrendered, at length, by capitulation; and although it was upon condition that the garriſon ſhould not be made priſoners, but ſhould be allowed to march out, and be conducted to *Cranganore*, the perfidious Myſorean abided not by his word, but after they were plundered of all they poſſeſſed, and ſtripped almoſt naked, he ſent them in chains to *Calicut*, and farther up into his country.

The ſituation of our affairs, on the coaſt of Malabar, now became daily more critical and alarming. The enemy had now nothing more to do, than to ſtorm *Cranganore*,

or

or to break through the *Travancore* lines, to be at hand to get footing on the iſland of *Baypin*, or even to attack *Cochin* itſelf; and the retrenchment which had been begun before *Cranganore* was not near completed, for want of labourers, who are here called *coolies**.

To this, add the intelligence, which Mr. MOENS received from good authority, that the nabob had cauſed a conſiderable part of his fleet, conſiſting of one three-maſt ſhip, ſix two-maſt grabs, and twenty well armed gallivats, to aſſemble at *Calicut*, with the intention of attempting to make a landing upon the iſland of *Baypin*, and thus to attack *Cranganore* on both ſides, and to extend his depredations even to the gates of *Cochim*.

In order to guard, as much as poſſible, againſt the completion of this purpoſe, a ſchooner, which was the only veſſel ſtationed by the Company on the coaſt, was placed as cloſe as poſſible to the mouth of the river of *Cranganore*; and the ſhips, the *Hoolwerf* and

* *Coolies* are thoſe natives who are employed in carrying of burthens, digging of trenches, and ſuch laborious occupations; and who, ſupplying the place of pioneers, cannot be diſpenſed with in the operations of military tactics in *Hindoſtan*. *S.*

the *Honcoop*, were ſtationed a little farther to ſeaward, at a middling diſtance from each other, in order to cover the coaſt, and at the ſame time to be near enough to join their force, upon the appearance of the enemy's fleet, in order to oppoſe any landing that might be attempted.

In the mean time, the retrenchments before *Cranganore* were carried on with the utmoſt diligence; yet, for want of proper workpeople, they were not completed till the end of December, when, however, every thing was prepared, as well as circumſtances would admit of, as well for defenſive, as for offenſive operations. But matters remained in this ſituation; for Mr. MOENS wiſely conſidered, that if once the Company acted offenſively, all means of amicable accommodation would be entirely cut off, and they would be involved in an open war, from which it might not be ſo eaſy to diſengage themſelves, and which would, at all events, be a ſource of heavy expence, and run their poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Malabar* ſtill more in arrear. The enemy now continued quiet in *Paponetty*, and ſeemed to wiſh for nothing more than the trifling

mortgaged

mortgaged diſtricts which had formed the bone of contention; while a communication ſtill, in ſome meaſure, kept up with HYDER ALI, had been the means of keeping alive the hopes of a pacific termination to theſe menacing events.

Moreover, if our people had acted offenſively, they would have had to attack the enemy in a woody country, where they might wait for us with advantage, and in caſe of diſcomfiture, the retreat would be difficult. The loſs of the Ceylon reinforcement would have been irreparable; and although a detachment of two hundred ſepoys, ſent from *Coromandel* over land had reached *Cochim* in ſafety, in the latter end of December, Mr. MOENS was induced, by the abovementioned motives, to act, for the preſent, merely upon the defenſive, in the hopes that the ſhip that was daily expected from *Batavia*, would bring the long-expected anſwer, and counter-preſents, from the government there, to the nabob of *Myſore*.

In order, however, to make a trial of the real diſpoſition of the kings of *Travancore* and *Cochim*, by making them believe that

he ſeriouſly intended to undertake the proſecution of the war, Mr. MOENS ſent to them to inform them, that having, on his part, got every thing in readineſs to act offenſively againſt the common enemy, he now required of them a categorical anſwer, in how far he could depend upon their ſuccours, and at the ſame time, wiſhing to form a plan, in concert with them, for the commencement of their combined operations.

Upon this, he received from *Travancore* juſt ſuch an anſwer as he expected, in conſequence of the ſecret informations which he had before obtained, at no little expence, of what was paſſing at the court of that prince; it was to the following effect; namely, that the king of *Travancore*, had entered into an alliance with the nabob of *Arcot*, by which it had been ſtipulated, that if he, the king of *Travancore*, were attacked in his own dominions by HYDER ALI, that then the nabob of *Arcot* would come to his aſſiſtance, but that if he were himſelf the aggreſſor, he was not then to expect the ſlighteſt degree of ſuccour; and that, as HYDER ALI had not yet actually committed

hoſtilities

hoſtilities upon his territories, his hands were bound from acting any otherwiſe than merely defenſively. Hence it appeared that the liberal promiſes, made by the king of *Travancore*, that he would join all his forces to our's as ſoon as we were in readineſs, were never intended to be performed, and came to nothing; and it may be inferred, that he had no other object in view, in making them, than to encourage the Company to involve themſelves in difficulties, and to keep himſelf entirely out of the ſcrape.

It was not the king of *Travancore* alone who wiſhed for the humiliation of the Company, but the Engliſh were likewiſe animated with the ſame invidious deſires; and although it would have been diametrically oppoſite to their intereſt, that the power of HYDER ALI ſhould be augmented, yet they would have rejoiced to ſee the annihilation of our's on the coaſt of *Malabar*.

A well authenticated anecdote confirms the opinion of their inimical diſpoſition towards us: the chief of *Ansjengo*, converſing on the ſubject of the diſputes which had ariſen between our Company and HYDER ALI,

ALI, expreſſed himſelf in a manner which clearly evinced his ſatisfaction, at the unfavourable poſture which our affairs had taken; "adding, let HYDER ALI take *Cochim* "away from them, it will not be long be- "fore we ſhall take it back from him."

The chief of *Tellicherry* too, as ſoon as he underſtood that the enemy had taken *Paponetty*, allured the different veſſels, that were annually accuſtomed to reſort to *Cochim*, for the purpoſes of trade, to his ſettlement, pretending that *Cochim* was inveſted both by ſea and by land; he even wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, by which he offered to take under his ſafeguard, at *Tellicherry*, the goods and effects of the Company, with aſſurances, upon his word of honour, that, both with reſpect to the houſing, and to the diſpoſal of articles of merchandiſe, the ſame care and diligence ſhould be employed, as if they belonged to the Engliſh.

But Mr. MOENS, well informed of his underhand dealings, wrote in reply, that matters, far from being come to that extremity, were ſtill in ſuch a ſituation, that the operations of trade were purſued without interruption, and the road was protected by

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the Company's ſhips, and that he therefore begged leave to decline his friendly offer: at the ſame time he ſecretly cauſed information to be given to ſuch veſſels as had run in there, that they might ſafely come to *Cochim*, without any apprehenſion; and this had the effect, that they all immediately left *Tellicherry* and ſailed to *Cochim*, where they diſpoſed of their goods, and were ſupplied with the articles they wanted, as uſual.

At length, the *Groenendaal*, the long-wiſhed-for ſhip from *Batavia*, appeared, and caſt anchor in the road of *Cochim*, on the 9th of January, 1777, having on board an anſwer from the ſupreme government to the letter of HYDER ALI, with the preſents accompanying it.

Mr. MOENS and his council, nevertheleſs, deliberated, whether they ſhould now ſend theſe diſpatches to the nabob, on account of the hoſtilities which he had already committed, or not: after mature conſideration, however, the firſt was unanimouſly reſolved on, becauſe that by this means, if the nabob really ſought peace, it muſt immediately appear. Mr. MOENS added a letter from himſelf, which principally contained

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the reaſons of the long delay of the letter and preſents.

After the lapſe of ſome weeks, HYDER ALI, who had now marched higher up in the peninſula againſt the Marattas, with whom he was equally at war, wrote a letter to Mr. MOENS, and ſent back the people who had been taken priſoners at *Chittua*, providing them with proviſions, and paying their expences as far as *Cochim*, retaining, however, thoſe who had taken ſervice with him; he took no notice in that letter of the preſents which had been ſent to him, although, in all probability, he well knew that they were on the road to him; but he wrote that the diſputes which had ariſen between him and the Company, were occaſioned by miſunderſtanding; that he had indeed ſent a general and ſome troops into the ſandy country, but it was only for the purpoſe of ſeeking after the lands which had belonged to the kingdom of the ſamorin; that our people had ſhot firſt; that he had diſpatched two meſſengers to Mr. MOENS, to adjuſt the differences, but that they had been refuſed to be received; with ſeveral other feigned ſubjects of complaint, and unfounded allegations,

allegations, by which he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to throw the whole blame of the rupture upon the Company; he concluded, however, by offering them his friendſhip, and manifeſted a deſire of accommodating matters.

Upon this, Mr. MOENS replied to him, that nothing was more agreeable to the Company, than to maintain their relations of amity with the princes in the neighbourhood of their eſtabliſhments; that they eſpecially wiſhed to preſerve the friendſhip and good-will of a powerful prince like him, with whom they had never before had any miſunderſtanding; and that, in order to re-eſtabliſh a peace, and to remove all the ſubjects of diſpute which had ariſen between them, he left it to the choice of the nabob, whether his highneſs choſe to ſend his *vakeels* * to *Cochim*, or whether Mr. MOENS ſhould ſend perſons to treat with the nabob at his own court.

When I left *Cochim*, on the 24th of April, 1777, no anſwer had yet come to this laſt letter, but it was expected to arrive every day.

* *Vakeel*, an agent, miniſter, or ambaſſador from a Mooriſh prince. *T.*

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The probable cauſes of the pacific diſpoſition which now appeared in the nabob, were the following:

Firſt, the open war in which he was engaged with the Marattas, who were endeavouring to reinſtate, in the poſſeſſion of their dominions, thoſe princes, who had formerly been tributary to them, and had now been diſpoſſeſſed by HYDER ALI.

Next, the aſſembling of the *nairs* of the ſamorin, in the mountains, in order to reſtore their prince, who had fled for refuge to the king of *Travancore*, to his dominions; to which likewiſe conduced, that the chief of the Moors, who conſtituted almoſt the half of the ſubjects of the ſamorin, and whom HYDER had left in his office, upon his paying a large ſum of conſideration-money, had now revolted from the conqueror, and had gone over, with his people, to the mountains, where he had joined the *nairs*.

Laſtly, HYDER ſaw that the fortifications we had made at *Cranganore* and *Aycotte*, together with the *Travancore* lines, were of ſuch a nature, that he could not attack them with much hopes of ſucceſs; and, conſequently,

quently, not penetrating to *Cochim*, that he could not preſcribe his own terms to the Company.

I have before hinted, that the principal object of our Company, in expelling the Portugueſe from this coaſt, was in order to become poſſeſſed of the pepper-trade, excluſively of all others; to which, perhaps, other reaſons of political expediency might be added.

They, however, early met with much diſappointment on this head, both by the bad faith of the Malabar princes, and by the conſtantly encreaſing competition of European rivals, who adopted a ſurer mode of obtaining as much pepper as they wanted, by always following the marketprice, or even paying ſomething above it, while our Company continually inſiſted upon the performance of the contracts, that no pepper ſhould be furniſhed to any others, although a fixed price was never ſtated in them, and they only ſpeak of the marketprice, as the rule to go by *.

* *Secret Conſiderations of the Commandant* DE JONG, of the 25th of October, 1757. *S.*

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The ſelling of pepper to other nations was ſtigmatized as a contraband trade, which ought to be put a ſtop to by compulſion, if other means were not ſufficient; and force was reſorted to at different times for that purpoſe; but theſe attempts were as little productive of the effects propoſed, as they were expenſive; for the princes themſelves were not able to reſtrain their ſubjects from carrying on this trade with other nations, by which they made double the advantage that they did in ſelling to us *.

By all theſe viciſſitudes and occurrences, the Malabar coaſt has been rendered, from the period that it was conquered, to a few years ago, one of the heavieſt burthens of the Company in India; and this it was that made the governor general, MOSSEL, addreſſing himſelf to the director general, GOLONESSE, who maintained that the *Malabar*, where he had long been ſtationed as commandant, was one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of the Company, uſe theſe words: "I am ſo far from being of your opinion, "that I rather wiſh that the ocean had

* *Secret Conſiderations of the Commandant* DE JONG, of the 25th of October, 1757. S.

"ſwallowed

" ſwallowed up the coaſt of *Malabar* an " hundred years ago *."

The obſervations of Mr. MOSSEL on the ſtate of the *Malabar* coaſt, need only be attentively peruſed to obtain a conviction of the great detriment which our eſtabliſhments upon it have already been to the Company; they have not ſo much been intrinſically prejudicial as baneful, on account of the continual diſputes and wars which we have been engaged in with the native princes, and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the ſervants who have been employed here †.

Since

* *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique de l'Abbé* RAYNAL. Tom. I. p. 261. Edition de la *Haye*, 1774. *S.*

M. RAYNAL, in this place, gives an opinion, in a note, that the eſtabliſhments of the Dutch on the coaſt o *Malabar* might, by a more enlarged commercial policy, be rendered of benefit to whoever poſſeſſed the maſtery of the pepper trade from *Java*, *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; " for this purpoſe, it would " merely be requiſite to purchaſe the pepper on the coaſt of " *Malabar*, at an advanced price, ſay one that would compel " other nations to abandon the trade; the benefits which " would accrue upon the immenſe quantities of pepper fur- " niſhed at a very low rate, by thoſe more eaſtern poſſeſſions, " would more than compenſate for the ſacrifice recommended; " and, by this operation, the excluſive commerce might be ob- " tained of a ſpice which has now become an article of uni- " verſal conſumption in moſt parts of the globe." *T.*

† Mr. MOSSEL, however, was of opinion, that, by a better

Since the accommodation of the laſt differences reſpecting the ſamorin, the *Malabar* has, however, again begun to make a tolerable figure in the Company's ſtatements; we do not mean to take into conſideration the ſum written off in the year 1767, to make good the deficiency occaſioned by the infidelity of the perſons employed; the balance, cloſed on the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1771, ſhews, that the expences of the *Malabar* had amounted in the book-year, 1770-1771, to

management, the *Malabar* might be rendered a profitable poſſeſſion to the Dutch; not ſo much by the pepper trade, as by the gains upon the ſpices, ſugar, arrack, and Japan copper, which may be diſpoſed of here. He ſuppoſes that the profits upon theſe might annually be *f.* 250,000, and the charges of the whole *f.* 232,000, or *f.* 18,000 (about £.6,636 ſterling) leſs than the gains; to which is to be added, what might be gained upon the pepper: in 1778, 1,000,000 *lbs.* of pepper, from the coaſt of *Malabar*, were ſold in *Holland*, at 17 ſtivers (nearly 1*s.* 7*d.*) per pound; the purchaſe-coſt on the coaſt, is, by the treaties, from four to five ſtivers per pound: the pepper, however, muſt then be ſent to *Ceylon*, and thence conveyed to Europe, whereby much expence is incurred, but not ſo much as not to leave a conſiderable profit. Mr. MOSSEL's calculation of the charges is, however, made upon the ſuppoſition that the Company's eſtabliſhment on the *Malabar* coaſt, amounts to no more than 300 or 400 perſons, and we have before ſeen, page 33, that in 1776-1777, there were 867 Europeans, and 405 natives, in the Company's ſervice here. *T.*

f. 205,570.

*f.*205,570. 17.; and, on the other hand, the profits amounted to *f.*325,687. 17. 8, leaving a handſome advance upon the whole of *f.*120,117. 0. 8 *; and theſe profits would, under the diſintereſted adminiſtration of Governor MOENS, have been larger, had not the unhappy diſputes, which I have before detailed, been the means of greatly augmenting the charges †.

The articles which are of the moſt current vent, of thoſe ſent hither by the Company, are cloves, nutmegs, and mace; but the leaſt part of them is conſumed on the coaſt, for a much more conſiderable quantity is exported by country-veſſels, who trade hither from the northern parts of the Arabian ſea, *Muſcat*, and the gulph of *Perſia*, where ſuch an advance upon the prices is

* About £.10,920 ſterling. *T.*

† In the year 1779, however, the charges of the *Malabar* eſtabliſhment were *f.*489,645, while the profits amounted together to no more than *f.*414,977, or *f.*74,668 (about £.6,606 ſterling) leſs than the charges, excluſive of the expences of the conveyance from *Batavia* of the articles ſold. Beſides pepper, ſome cardemom, and caſſia lignea, is furniſhed for Europe from the *Malabar*; and a conſiderable number of ſlaves are yearly ſent, in private trade, to *Batavia*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. *T.*

obtained, as defrays the charges and riſk of conveyance; theſe veſſels bring, on the other hand, capok, which is diſpoſed of to advantage at *Cochim*.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

Further Stay on the Coaſt.—Departure from COCHIM. — *Paſſage through the Channel of* MAMALA. — *A lunar Eclipſe.* — *Singular Whiteneſs obſerved in the Seawater—Seen by other Navigators.—Account of a ſimilar Phenomenon from* VALENTYN. — *Deſcription of a curious Species of Shellfiſh.—Of Inſects in the Sea occaſioning a luminous Appearance.—View of Cape* ST. JOHN.— *Arrival at* SURAT. — *Changes that had taken Place there.—Termination of the War between the Marattas and the Engliſh.* — *Optional Ceſſion of* SALSETTE *to the latter.—Repented of by the former—Who complain of ill Faith in the Engliſh.*

THE ſhip *Ouwerkerk* having undergone ſome neceſſary repairs, and taken in water for the proſecution of her voyage, was in readineſs to ſail on the 26th of December; but the conſtant apprehenſion that the fleet of the nabob would make an attempt to effect a landing on the iſland of *Baypin*, made the government at the *Malabar* determine to keep the ſhip ſtill on the coaſt, till a two-maſt bark, expected from *Ceylon*, or the ſhip

from *Batavia*, ſhould arrive. I received orders to ſail with the *Ouwerkerk* to before *Aycotte*, there to relieve the ſhip *Hoolwerf* (whoſe cargo, if ſhe ſtaid longer, would have been ſubject to be ſpoiled), to remain there till further orders; and, in caſe any hoſtile veſſels ſhould appear, to uſe my beſt endeavours to reſiſt and prevent the execution of their deſigns.

I remained at anchor there till the 9th of January, 1777, when I received my diſpatches on board, with permiſſion to purſue my voyage to *Surat*, upon which I immediately weighed anchor, and ſet ſail; but I was obliged, by contrary wind and ſtream, to anchor again at ſunſet. In the mean time the ſhip, *Hoolwerf*, replaced mine in the ſtation before *Aycotte*, and the *Groenendaal*, which had left *Batavia* on the 20th of November, and had arrived the day I received permiſſion to depart, lay at anchor before *Cochim*.

About midnight, when the land-wind began to blow, we again got under ſail, ſteering for the channel of *Mamala*, intending to run through it between the *Laquediva* and the *Maldive* iſlands, and to purſue our voyage

to

to *Surat* to the weſtward of the former. Although this was a circuitous route, as the northeaſterly winds blew ſtrong, yet there was no other means of fulfilling the object of our voyage, for we were commanded by our inſtructions from the government at *Batavia*, to keep out of ſight of the land, on account of the Maratta fleet, till we were in the latitude of Cape *St. John*, and we could not, therefore, avail of the uſual alternate ſea and land winds, which do not blow far out at ſea, and with the aſſiſtance whereof we might otherwiſe have effected the paſſage with great quickneſs.

For the firſt eight days, we met with very ſtrong currents, which ſet us ſometimes to the north, and ſometimes to the ſouth, without that we diſcovered either the iſlands on one hand, or thoſe on the other. On the 18th of January, we perceived but a very feeble current, and by the encreaſing northweſterly variation of the compaſs, we computed that we had already paſſed the weſternmoſt of the *Laquediva* iſlands; we then ſteered as high up to the N.W. as the ſcantineſs of the wind would allow, in order to get into higher latitudes.

On the 23d, we ſaw another eclipſe of the moon. Full one-half of the planet was obſcured, on its ſouth ſide; the beginning could not be obſerved, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather.

On the 30th, we met, at night, with a very ſingular appearance in the colour of the ſea. It aſſumed ſo great a degree of whiteneſs, that it was perfectly like milk. During the day, we had obſerved that the water was darker and browner than uſual, and had loſt that azure clearneſs which it almoſt always has in the open ſea: in proportion as the evening twilight diminiſhed, it became whiter, and encreaſed gradually in whiteneſs till nine o'clock, when it was ſo white, that the whole ſea appeared as if covered with a white ſheet, or exactly like the appearance, in the night-time, of a flat country overſpread with ſnow. The horizon was not diſtinguiſhable, except to the north-weſt, where the line of diſtinction between the ſea and the ſky was diſcernable, from the latter being ſomewhat dark and gloomy. This phenomenon was entirely diſtinct from the luminous appearance which is frequently obſerved in the water of the ocean, as, inſtead

ſtead of giving any light, the whole was of a deadly paleneſs, excepting cloſe to the veſſel, where it ſeemed mixed with ſome ſparks of light. While it was at the ſtrongeſt, I had the lead caſt ſeveral times, but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. I had ſome of the water taken up, and examined it directly with the microſcope, but could not ſee any thing in it, with a glaſs of the greateſt magnifying powers; to the naked eye, it appeared as clear as cryſtal; and, on taſting it, it ſeemed to have loſt ſomething of its briny and bituminous taſte.

The ſame appearance was obſerved by the Engliſh captain NEWLAND, in the ſame part of the ocean, with the difference, however, that he ſaw it intermixed with black ſtripes running in a ſerpentine direction through the whiteneſs, which I did not ſee in it. He likewiſe diſcovered animalculæ in it, by putting a glaſs, with ſome of the water, in a dark place, and holding his hand cloſe over it *; but neither did I obſerve any thing of this kind, although I likewiſe filled

* See *Hedendaagſche Vaderlandſche Letteroeffeningen* (a Dutch periodical publication), vol. iii. no. V. art. *Miſcellanies*, page 204. *S.*

a glaſs

a glaſs with the water, and put it in a dark place, but without holding my hand over it.

The account given of this phenomenon by Mr. NUBURK, volume ii, page 84 and 85, agrees perfectly with the above.

About midnight, when the moon roſe, the water reſumed, by degrees, its former duſky colour, and on the following morning it appeared the ſame as the day before.

We were then, by eſtimation, ſixty leagues from the coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which was the neareſt land. Our north latitude was 16°, and our compaſſes ſhewed a northweſterly variation of five degrees.

We had a light breeze of wind, chiefly from the northeaſt, varying, however, from E.N.E. to N.N.E.; the thermometer ſtood at 72°; the ſky was, in general, ſlightly clouded; and the ſtars were viſible: I had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the moon had any influence upon this phenomenon, or had contributed to it, it having been in the quarter the day before; and the more, as we did not diſcover any ſtrong current.

I remember to have read ſomewhere in VALENTYN, that this ſame appearance is alſo ſometimes obſerved in the ſeas between

Amboyna

Amboyna and *Banda**; but I am well aſſured that it could never be more diſtinctly ſeen than when I obſerved it.

On

* It appears from VALENTYN, that this phenomenon, which he calls *het witwater* (the white water), occurs twice every year in the ſeas around *Banda*; the firſt time, when it is denominated the little *witwater*, it takes place at the new moon, in June; it is but ſlight in July, but does not entirely ſubſide before the ſame appearance occurs again at the new moon in Auguſt, when it is called the great *witwater*. In the day-time, the ſea appears as uſual; but in the night, it aſſumes a milkwhite hue, and the reflection of it in the air is ſo great, that the ſky cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the water. Land is very eaſily diſcerned by night, in it, for the land appears very black in the middle of the whiteneſs. Very little fiſh is caught during the time that it laſts, but afterwards ſo much the more; the fiſh do not like the water, and the clearneſs of it makes them eaſily ſee the fiſhing-tackle and boats, and conſequently avoid them. It has likewiſe been obſerved to rot the bottoms of veſſels which lie much in it. It throws up, on the ſhores where it reaches, a great deal of ſlime, and filth, and likewiſe different ſpecies of blubber or *mollusca*, *bezaantjes* (*holothuria phyſalis*, or Portugueſe men-of-war), &c. It is dangerous for ſmall veſſels to be at ſea in the night, where it comes, as, though it may be calm, the ſea always rolls with heavy ſurges, enough to overſet ſmall veſſels; and it ſeems as if they were occaſioned by ſubaqueous exhalations preſſing upwards for a vent. It is chiefly ſeen between *Banda*, and the ſoutheaſtern iſlands, to the ſouthward of the iſlands of *Aroe* and the *Keys*, down to *Tenimber*, where the heavieſt rolling of the ſea is obſerved, and *Timor Laut*; it runs weſtward as far as *Timor*; and to the north, it is met with on the ſouth coaſt of *Ceram*, keeping, however, to the

On the following evening, and part of the night, we ſaw this phenomenon again, the ſouth of the *Uliaſſers* and *Amboyna*, where it appears in large ſtripes. This milk-ſea, as VALENTYN emphatically calls it, is clearly ſeen in the night, from the hills at *Amboyna*, ſtretching towards *Banda*; for at *Amboyna* itſelf, it does not properly occur, having only been known once to have reached that iſland, namely, in 1656. When it begins to abate, it runs along the iſlands of *Omo*, and *Ende*, or *Floris*, and finally, in ſtripes as far as *Bouton*, and even to *Saleyer*, and the coaſt of *Celebes*, where it gradually loſes itſelf in the other ſeawater, or mixes with it. The more tempeſtuous the weather proves, the more it rains, and the harder the ſoutheaſt tradewind blows, the more this white water is ſeen. It is entirely unknown whence it proceeds; but it has generally been ſuppoſed to come from the gulph of *Carpentaria*. Some have conſidered the whiteneſs as occaſioned by myriads of animalculæ; and others have aſcribed it to a ſubtle, ſulphureous, marine exhalation, which they have ſuppoſed to ariſe from the bottom of the ſea, and to become condenſed in the water. But though brimſtone be produced in conſiderable quantities, at *Amboyna* and *Banda*, and likewiſe upon *Nila*, *Teeuwer*, *Dammer* (three iſlands, ſouth of the two former, and between them and *Timor*, little known to any but the Dutch), and elſewhere in theſe parts, yet, ſays VALENTYN, if the white water were cauſed by that circumſtance, it would be obſerved, wherever ſulphur is found in large quantities: but, unable to aſſign any other reaſon, he leaves the ſolution of this phenomenon to be determined by future diſcoverers and naturaliſts. He likewiſe ſays, it has been obſerved at the *Mayotte* or *Comora* iſlands, to the northweſtward of *Madagaſcar*, and between it and the main land of *Africa*. VALENTYN *Beſchryving van Ooſt Indien*, vol. II. page 137 and 138, and vol. III. part 2, page 10 and 11. T.

and

and every night till the 3d of February, but in a ſlighter degree every ſucceeding time, and on the evening after that day, it was not viſible at all; there was, however, a ſtrong luminous appearance in the water; we were then, by eſtimation, thirty-five leagues from the neareſt part of *Arabia Felix*, being in the north latitude of 17° 30′, and our compaſſes ſtill ſhewing a northweſterly variation of five degrees.

During the time that we ſaw this white water, the ſky was ſometimes entirely clear, with a fine ſtarlight down to the very horizon, and ſometimes it was cloudy, and even quite overcaſt; ſo that it does not appear to me that the ſtate of the weather had any influence upon it: the thermometer continued, for the moſt part, at the point at which it was the firſt evening.

On the 1ſt of February, and the day after, we took up out of the ſea a kind of little ſhellfiſh, univalve and ſpiral, which floated on the ſurface of the water; the ſhell was of a beautiful azure colour beneath, gradually becoming lighter towards the opening; they were of various ſizes, the largeſt being as big as a little garden-ſnail, and the ſmalleſt of the

the ſize of a common perriwinkle; the animal that inhabited the ſhell had the ſame ſpiral form; but inſtead of the horny covering, or cap, that cloſes the opening of the perriwinkle, this animal had a large hollow bladder, perfectly white, and filled with air, about an inch and a half in length, and half an inch in thickneſs; it was of an oval ſhape, and ſerved to keep the little animal, with its fragile habitation, floating on the waves; this membrane was attached to the fore part of the animal, and, upon being carefully ſeparated from it, there appeared a little oval head, from which projected two little horns, like thoſe which ſnails generally have. Upon being bruiſed, the animal yielded a beautiful purple liquor, which, when viewed in the microſcope, had an appearance of very ſmall animalculæ, of a vermicular ſhape, like thoſe which are met with in ſtagnant rainwater, tranſparent, and comparable for ſize, or rather for minuteneſs, to the *trichoda*, or wheel inſect. I evaporated this liquid, and obtained from it a dry powder, which, when rubbed down, and mixed with gum-water, made a beautiful purple paint.

I believe, as we were then not far from the

the Gulph of *Arabia*, that theſe animals were driven by the currents out of the Red Sea, where, I think, they are met with.

To ſeveral of theſe ſhells adhered a number of very minute muſcles, of the ſame ſhape and appearance, as thoſe which we vulgarly call longnecks, and which adhere to the bottoms of ſhips, or to timber that has been long in the water; ſome very ſmall crabs likewiſe were ſeen upon the ſhells.

Although I had many times in vain examined the ſeawater, in order to diſcover what might be the cauſe of the luminous appearance which it ſometimes aſſumes at night, I was fortunate enough, on the 10th of February, to diſcover in it thoſe animals, whoſe rapidly varying and ſhooting motion, occaſion, in my opinion, this circumſtance. Their length was about two lines, and their breadth one line: they are flat, and perfectly tranſparent: the animal conſiſted of nine annulæ, or rings, the ſmalleſt of which was the head, out of which two little horns projected; the rings encreaſed in ſize and breadth to the ninth, or laſt, which alone made one-third of the whole length, and formed the poſterior part of the animal; a gut, or duct,

ran

ran through the whole length, in the middle of the body, which was narrow at the head, but encreaſed in width till about the middle of the ninth diviſion, where it ſpread out into many little branches: in the middle of this duct a ſubſtance appeared, which had a kind of periſtaltic motion from behind to before, and which I looked upon as the *principium vitæ* of the animal: quite at the extremity of the ninth annula there were two ſmall openings, round which four little legs, or arms, were diſcernible, and there appeared to be ſeveral more, but they were ſo very minute, that I cannot with certainty aſſert that there were more.

In the ſame water I alſo found an inſect of the ſame ſize, which, when viewed by the glaſs, No. IV, had the ſame ſhape as that of which a drawing is given in Captain PHIPPS's Voyage to the North Pole, in plate XII, figure 2, and deſcribed under the name of ſea-louſe *.

We

* Fig 2, plate XII. in PHIPPS's Voyage, is *cancer nugax, macrourus, articularis, pedibus quatuordecim ſimplicibus, laminis femorum ſex poſteriorum dilatatis ſubrotundo cordatis.* It is added, that this animal, which had not before been deſcribed, ſhould be inſerted in the *Syſtema Naturæ* near *cancer pulex*; it was taken in the trawl

We ſtruggled with contrary winds till the 8th of February, before we could reach twenty degrees of north latitude; we then got better opportunities of gaining an eaſting, as the winds veered to N.N.E. and north, and when we were before the mouth of the Gulph of *Perſia*, they even run to N.W. and W.N.W. with which we purſued our voyage with tolerable ſucceſs; on the 19th of that month, we ſtruck ſoundings, for the firſt time, in forty-nine fathoms, black ſandy clay, with ſmall ſhells and gravel, and afterwards a greeniſh hard clay bottom, and on the 21ſt we let drop our anchor, at two o'clock, A.M. in twenty-one fathoms, as the current was againſt us.

At eight o'clock, when the ſtream had ſubſided, and the flood began to riſe, we again got under ſail, and at half paſt nine, we came in ſight of the high land of Cape *St. John*, finding ourſelves, by obſervation, at noon, twenty-nine leagues and a half more to the weſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning.

trawl near *Moſſen* iſland. The *cancer pulex*, was taken up in the ſame trawl. It is ſingular that ſimilar animals ſhould be found to exiſt in the arctic and in the tropical ſeas. *T.*

At three o'clock, P.M. when the flood had left us, and the wind became contrary, we anchored again, and ſo on, working up with the tides of flood, and lying over when the counter-ſtream began; we were, the following morning, before *Ternapour*; in the evening, we had paſſed the city of *Daman*; on the 23d, in the morning, we were beyond the little hill of *Balzany*; and, in the evening, in ſight of the road of *Surat*.

We anchored there on the 24th of February, and having moored the ſhip at night, I went up to *Surat* on the following day, and reaching the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, I landed at the Dutch wharf, where I fixed my quarters in a houſe not far from it, which had been hired for me.

On my arrival, I found that many changes had taken place in our direction, ſince I had been here laſt. The late director, B——, had been recalled by the ſupreme government, and being fearful that, if he went to *Batavia*, he would there meet with his deſerts, as he was perfectly conſcious of his negligence, if not of his miſconduct, in his adminiſtration, he reſolved, as ſoon as Mr. VAN DE GRAAF, who had been appointed

pointed his ſucceſſor in the directorſhip, arrived in an Engliſh ſhip from the *Malabar*, where he had been the ſecond in command, to put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh Company, and to take his paſſage to *Bombay*, by the ſame veſſel that had brought Mr. VAN DE GRAAF.

Similar apprehenſions were entertained by the ſecond, Mr. S——, who equally, a few days afterwards, ſought the protection of the Engliſh; it was, however, only for one night, as on the following morning, Mr. VAN DE GRAAF ſucceeded in perſuading him to return back to the Company.

On the 10th of March, a report was received here that the nabob of *Myſore*, HYDER ALI, had obtained a ſignal victory over the Marattas, in which that nation were ſaid to have loſt full forty thouſand men killed on the field of battle, and that the victor had advanced, with his army, within twenty coſs of *Poonah*; but no confirmation was received of this news before my departure.

The war between the Marattas and the Engliſh, of which I have before made mention, had been terminated the preceding

year, by a treaty of peace, by which no adequate advantages were obtained, on the part of the Engliſh, in the proportion that might naturally be expected from their conqueſts and ſucceſſes. This has even laid the foundation of a renewal of hoſtilities.

The laſt article contains a ceſſion, by the Marattas, to the Engliſh Company, of the iſland of *Salſette*, near *Bombay* (the poſſeſſion of which is the main ſpring upon which the welfare of the Engliſh Company, on this coaſt, turns, both becauſe the iſland is only ſeparated from *Bombay* by a narrow river, and becauſe, being very fertile, it is conſidered as the granary of that eſtabliſhment), with a clauſe, that if the Engliſh Company did not prefer this place, they ſhould have the option of a diſtrict in the *Baroche* country, yielding an annual revenue of three lacks of rupees. The choice was not a matter of heſitation, or difficulty, to the Engliſh; they abided by the ceſſion of *Salſette*. But in this, ſay the Marattas, the Engliſh, or rather the preſidency of *Bengal*, to whom the ratification of the treaty, and the option contained in it, were referred, acted deceitfully; for they allege, that both parties had

had agreed, by a ſecret article, that this optional ceſſion ſhould be made on the part of the Marattas merely to ſave appearances, and for the honour of the Engliſh Company, that they might have the name of making choice of one of the two, whilſt, in the mean time, the Engliſh had ſolemnly promiſed that they would take the beforementioned diſtrict in the *Baroche* country, and reſtore *Salſette* to the Marattas. On this account, the Marattas would not ſuffer the Engliſh envoy to leave *Poonah*, and ſent word to *Bombay*, that they inſiſted upon having *Salſette* reſtored to them, or elſe upon the war being renewed.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey by Land from SUALLY *to* SURAT.—*Tower of* SUALLY.—*Hackeries.—Sandhills.—Inlet of the Sea, called the Boſon of* SUALLY.—*The Village.—Hoſpitable Conduct of the Perſee Chief.—Departure from* SURAT.—*Arrival at* COCHIM.—*Departure again.—Doubling of Cape* COMORIN.—*Signs of Land.—View of the Iſlands of* NASSAU—*Account of that, and other Iſlands on the weſt Coaſt of* SUMATRA.—*Arrival at* BATAVIA.—*The Ouwerkerk appointed to return to Europe.—Death of the Governor General,* VAN RIEMSDYK, *and Election of Mr.* DE KLERK *in his Stead—Reſolutions taken by the Government at his Inſtance.—Death of the King of* BANTAM, *and Coronation of his Succeſſor by a Deputy from* BATAVIA.—*Tour up the Country, and to the Seat of the Governor General.*

ON the 23d of March, I went, early in the morning, on board of my ſhip, accompanied by the comptroller of equipment, BOELEN: the next day, leaving her again, we landed in the *Korry*-bay, juſt within the river's mouth, in order to go by land thence

to

to *Sually*, and further to *Surat*; for that purpoſe, we had the day before given orders that five hackeries ſhould be ready to receive us.

Before we got into them, we firſt went to ſee the tower of *Sually*, which ſerves as a beacon to make the road of *Surat*, and points out the anchoring-place.

It is erected upon one of the little ſand-hills which lie about two miles from the banks of the river. It was built many years ago, as a tomb, over the grave of an Engliſh captain, who lies buried here; it appeared to me to be between twenty-five and thirty feet in height, ſquare, and covered at top with a cupola. As the entrance to it was ſhut, we could not take a view of the inſide; but I was told, that there was a pleaſant apartment in the upper part of it, where the Engliſh ſometimes met on parties of pleaſure.

At half paſt ſix o'clock, we each got into a hackery, though there is ſufficient room in one of theſe carriages for two perſons: the other three were intended for our ſervants and baggage.

The weather was exceſſive hot that day, and we had nothing to ſhield us from the

ſcorching rays of an eaſtern ſun, as theſe carriages had no kind of covering or awning; moreover, there was not the leaſt breeze of wind, to mitigate the fervency of the air.

We firſt rode to the northeaſt, through a ſandy and uncultivated plain, in which there was nothing to relieve the eye, but here and there a dwarfiſh, faded, and drooping buſh or ſhrub. Having purſued this direction and road for about two hours, we then turned more to the northward and weſtward; here we rode acroſs a valley, which appeared to me to bear all the ſigns of having formerly been the main bed of the river, or, at leaſt, to have been a branch of it.

We then came again to ſome ſandhills, from the tops of which we had a pleaſant view of an arm or inlet of the ſea, formerly called the *Baſon of Sually*, and where it is ſaid, our ſhips uſed to lie at anchor in former times *.

Upon theſe ſandhills there was ſtill one of the tombs of our people in exiſtence; it ſtood upon four pillars, riſing about twenty feet from

* In VALENTYN's time, the ſhips that frequented the port of *Surat*, lay at anchor in the *Baſon of Sually*, whence moſt goods were carried up to the city upon oxen. *T.*

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the ground; we could not diſcover by whom, or for whom, it was erected, as there was no inſcription upon it. On an adjacent ſandhill, were the ruins of another. Under the firſt, was a vault, in which we ſaw a great number of bones, and ſome pieces of wood.

About a quarter of an hour's walk from here lies the village of *Sually*, which we reached at half paſt twelve o'clock. It conſiſts merely of forty or fifty houſes, or huts, built under the ſhade of a grove of trees. All the inhabitants are Perſees.

The chief of the village, called *Cattoual* by the Moors, and *Petil* by the Perſees, received us at his houſe, with every mark of reſpect and hoſpitality; he brought the water to waſh us, and poured it upon our hands himſelf; he brought us as much milk as we could drink, and ſaw us provided with whatever elſe we ſtood in need of.

This village, which, I reckon, lies three or four Dutch miles north or N.N.E. from the tower of *Sually*, is very populous for its ſmall ſize; and the great numbers of the children we ſaw, afforded proofs of the prolificneſs of the women, although it is frequently expoſed to the incurſions and ravages of the Coolies

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and the Marattas, by whom they have latterly been twice plundered of their all, within the ſpace of one year; and to theſe depredators they dare not offer any ſhew of reſiſtance, which would coſt them their lives as well as their property.

We ſtopped to reſt ourſelves here till half paſt three o'clock in the afternoon, when we again ſet out on our journey to *Surat*.

We travelled, as before, through a barren, ſandy plain, without any trees or verdure: the heat was nearly intolerable, and we were deprived of the leaſt air of wind: we were entirely expoſed to the ardency of the ſun, till five o'clock, when we came into a road, which was a little ſhaded, as far as the village of *Batta*. When we came to the riverſide, oppoſite to *Attua*, we found a veſſel lying ready to receive us, and to carry us up to the city, where we arrived at half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening.

As ſoon as the bales of piecegoods were arrived from *Baroche*, in the beginning of the month of April, all expedition was uſed to haſten my departure, as the bad monſoon was at hand; and I had, beſides, to touch at *Cochim*, to deliver there one lack of rupees, which

which I was to take with me from here. I ſhipped likewiſe one hundred Moors for *Batavia*.

I went on board, with my final diſpatches, on the 7th of April, and, on the next day, we weighed anchor at four o'clock, P.M. and got under ſail; we ſhortly afterwards paſſed Cape *St. John*, and got out to ſea.

On the 15th, we had ſight of *Cape Ramas*, a few leagues ſouth of the Portugueſe city of *Goa*; further we did not meet with any thing remarkable on the voyage, till on the 19th of that month we caſt anchor before the city of *Cochim*.

I went on ſhore the day after my arrival, to pay my reſpects to Governor MOENS, in whoſe houſe I took up my reſidence, in conſequence of his friendly offer.

Having landed here the hundred thouſand rupees, and taken in a freſh ſupply of water, I urged my departure on account of the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon. I received my diſpatch on the 24th of April, and I immediately got under ſail.

Since the 16th of this month, we had had, almoſt every evening, dreadful ſtorms of thunder, lightning and rain; as is not unuſual

ſual in theſe latitudes; the lightning was ſo fierce, that the ſky appeared in one blaze of fire; they, however, were ſomewhat abated when we paſſed Cape *Comorin*, on the 27th of April. This bad weather was a prognoſtic of the approaching bad monſoon.

We took our departure from that promontory, being the laſt land which we ſhould probably ſee, till we approached the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*.

We firſt ſteered E.S.E. intending afterwards to bear away E. by S. or as much more ſouth, or eaſt, as would be neceſſary for us to paſs the line in the longitude of 113°.

On the 9th of May, being, by computation, in longitude 106°, we met with much ſeaweed, pieces of bamboo, wood, branches and leaves of trees, &c. which were ſigns that we began to near the land; although it afterwards appeared, that we were then ſtill at a great diſtance from the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, which made me think, in the ſequel, that all theſe might have come from the little iſland, which is laid down in the map of the Indian ocean, in longitude 105°, and which is called the *Low Iſland*. Upon meeting, however, with theſe ſigns of land,

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we determined to paſs the line as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order, agreeable to the Company's ſailing-orders, to make the iſland of *Good Fortune* *, as being bold and free from ſhoals; but we were deceived, for inſtead of ſooner making *Sumatra*, it was not till the 25th of June that we got ſight of the iſland *Naſſau*: we had run down, with the northeaſt winds, into 8°, ſouth latitude, where we drove about ſeveral days in calms; we then got the ſoutheaſt winds, with which we ſailed large till in 3°, and when we deſcried *Naſſau*, we were, by the ſhip's reckoning, beyond the longitude of *Batavia*.

Our miſreckoning, upon diſcovering the iſland of *Naſſau*, we found to be 8° 29′, or one hundred twenty-ſeven and a half leagues of longitude; which great error we aſcribed ſolely to the force of the currents ſetting to the weſtward, together with the frequent calms and light airs of wind, which had obſtructed our real progreſs.

I regretted much my not having tables of

* One of the largeſt of the iſlands that lie parallel with the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*; it is called *Pulo Porah* by the Malays, and is ſituated between the iſland *Mintaon*, or MANTAWAYE, and the *Poggee* or *Naſſau* iſlands. *T.*

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the diſtances of the ſun and moon, by which I ſhould ſoon have been enabled to diſcover this important error.

The iſland of *Naſſau*, the largeſt of the range of iſlands that lie before the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, is middling high, although not mountainous, and in clear weather can be diſcerned at the diſtance of eight or nine leagues *. The ſoutheaſt point, called *Fiſh-*

point,

* *Pulo Poggee*, or the *Naſſau* iſlands, are two iſlands which are ſeparated from each other by a narrow channel; the inhabitants of them, and of the iſland *Mantawaye*, are univerſally *tattowed* in the ſhape of birds and beaſts, and their ſkin diſcoloured. Neither of the *Naſſau* iſlands is the largeſt of the range: *Pulo Neas* has the greateſt circumference; it is, except *Pulo Babee*, the northernmoſt, and is not far diſtant from *Natal*, on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, where there is an Engliſh ſettlement, and whence a great trade is carried on to the iſland of *Neas*: the articles received thence are rice and ſlaves, of the laſt not leſs than four hundred and fifty annually, beſides about an hundred and fifty which go to the northern ports; in catching theſe unfortunate victims of the avarice of the chiefs, it is computed that no fewer than two hundred are killed, which together form a conſiderable number for ſuch a country to ſupply. The people of *Neas* are ſmall in their perſons, of a fair complexion, particularly the women, who are moſtly ſent to *Batavia*; but a great proportion of both ſexes are infected with a ſpecies of leproſy, which covers their bodies with white ſcurf, or ſcales, that render them loathſome to the ſight; but this diſtemper, though diſagreeable, does not appear immediately to affect the health, ſlaves, in that ſituation, being daily bought and ſold for field and

other

point, runs out very low, and one or two leagues to the ſouth of it, lie two ſmall, and about four or five leagues farther, one ſomewhat larger, iſland; this laſt has, by ſome, been taken for the iſland *Met de Reeven*, or *Reef*-iſland *, which is an error that might have

other out-door work; it is communicated from parents to their offspring, but though hereditary, it is not contagious. Their ears are made to extend in ſo prepoſterous a manner, with an aperture large enough, in many inſtances, to admit the hand through, as often to be near touching their ſhoulders, though the purchaſers of females ſometimes get them trimmed to the natural ſize. Theſe iſlanders are remarkable for their ingenuity in handicraft works; and, as an inſtance of their ſkill in the arts, they practice that of letting blood by cupping, in a manner peculiar to themſelves, and ſimilar to ours: their principal food is pork, and the chiefs make a practice of ornamenting their houſes with the jaws of the hogs, as well as the ſkulls of the enemies, which they kill: they are revengeful in their tempers, and eſteemed dangerous as domeſtic ſlaves, a defect in their character which philoſophers will not heſitate to excuſe in an independent people, torn by violence from their country and connexions. Earthquakes are frequent in *Sumatra*, and extend to theſe iſlands; in 1763 an entire village was ſwallowed up by an earthquake in that of *Neas*. T.

* *Pulo Mego:* this, with ſome other of theſe iſlands, are uninhabited, except by rats and ſquirrels, who feaſt upon the cocoanuts which are produced in them, without controul, unleſs diſturbed by the crews of veſſels from *Sumatra*, that go thither occaſionally to collect cargoes of cocoanuts for market. All theſe ſmall iſlands are ſkirted near the ſeabeach, with cocoanut-

have very dangerous conſequences; the miſtake, however, may eaſily be avoided or

cocoanut-trees, growing ſo thick together, that they almoſt choak each other, whilſt the interior parts are entirely free from them; this is occaſioned by the accidental floating of the nuts to the ſhore, where they are planted by the hand of nature, ſhoot forth, and bear fruit, which falling, as it comes to maturity, ſprings up in like manner, and cauſes a ſucceſſive reproduction. Mr. MARSDEN ſurmiſes that this chain of iſlands may, probably, have once formed a part of the main, and have been ſeparated from it, either by ſome violent effort of nature, or by the gradual attrition of the ſea. A circumſtance preſents itſelf on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, which affords ſome ſtronger colour of proof, than can be uſually obtained in ſuch inſtances. In many places, and particularly about *Pally* and *Laye*, detached pieces of land are obſerved ſtanding ſingly, as iſlands, at the diſtance of one or two hundred yards from the ſhore, which were headlands of points running out into the ſea, within the remembrance of the inhabitants. The tops continue covered with trees, or ſhrubs, but the ſides are bare, abrupt, and perpendicular. The progreſs of inſulation here is obvious and incontrovertible; and the larger iſlands, at a greater diſtance, may have been formed, in the revolution of ages, by the ſame accidents. The probability is heightened by the direction of the iſlands, the ſimilarity of ſoil and productions, and the regularity of ſoundings between them and the main, whilſt without them, the depth is unfathomable. We have been particular in collecting information reſpecting this chain of iſlands, as they are but very little known to Europeans, and little is mentioned of them by any writers except MARSDEN, to whom we are chiefly indebted for theſe particulars. Of *Engano*, the ſouthernmoſt of them, we have introduced a curious

or diſcovered, for the latter lies in the ſouth latitude of 3° 55′, and the former in 3° 30′; and when you are in ſight of *Reef*-iſland, you cannot ſee any thing of the iſland *Naſſau*, as I experienced myſelf in February, 1769; whilſt, when near the other, you cannot fail to ſee the iſland of *Naſſau*. I have diſtinguiſhed this ſmall deceitful iſland, in my ſhip's journal, by the appellation of *Falſe Reef*-iſland.

We continued loitering within ſight of *Naſſau*-iſland till the 2d of July, when we loſt ſight of it, with a light gale of wind from the northweſt.

On the ſame day we ſaw a great deal of filth floating in the water, which being viewed in the microſcope, ſhewed merely like a collection of darkiſh ſpiral filaments, but we could not diſcover any ſigns of life in them.

On the morning of the 4th of July, at

curious account in chapter xi.; to this we may here add, that it is ſo little known, even to the very neareſt inhabitants of *Sumatra*, that the people of *Lampoon* believed its inhabitants to be all females, who were impregnated by the wind, like themares in VIRGIL's georgics; and they ſtyled them, in the Malay Language, *ana Saytan*, or imps of the devil. *T.*

daybreak, we ſaw the land of *Sumatra's* weſt coaſt, ſouth of *Bencoolen*, and found, that in the few days ſince we had loſt ſight of the iſland *Naſſau*, we had again been driven by the current eighteen leagues to the weſtward.

On the 9th, we at length entered the ſtraits of *Sunda*; we anchored the following noon in the bay of *Anjer*; and on the 16th of July in the road of *Batavia*.

On my arrival here, I learnt that the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was appointed, by the government, to ſail as a return-ſhip to Europe, in the firſt diviſion of the homeward fleet; and Captain JOHN ABEL, of the ſhip *Vryheid*, (the Liberty) was afterwards appointed commodore of the fleet.

The moſt remarkable occurrence that took place, during my laſt reſidence at *Batavia*, was the death of the governor general, VAN RIEMSDYK, on the 3d of October.

On the following morning, at ſix o'clock, all the bells in the city were tolled for half an hour, as likewiſe at one o'clock in the afternoon, and five o'clock in the evening. This was repeated on the day of interment,

and

and the flags on the ſhips in the road were hoiſted half-ſtaff high.

At half paſt eight o'clock in the morning, all the members of the ſupreme government of India, who were preſent at *Batavia*, aſſembled together, and unanimouſly elected to the vacant office of governor general of the poſſeſſions of the United Provinces in India, the director general, REINIER DE KLERK *, and Mr. WILLIAM ARNOLD ALTING, of *Groningen*, to ſucceed him as director general. This nomination being effected, the keys of the caſtle, and of the city-gates, were preſented to the new governor, who again put them into the hands of the chief of the military. In the ſame ſeſſion of the aſſembly, it was

* Some particulars will be given in the appendix of the life of Governor DE KLERK, abſtracted from ARY HUYSERS' Biographical Account of this extraordinary character. He was a man, who, from the loweſt ſtation, that of a common ſailor, aroſe by the progreſſive operation of merit, to the h gheſt dignity in point of grandeur, and extent of power, in the Indies, and, perhaps, in the world. Like ſome of our own eaſtern great men, he performed the moſt eminent ſervices for his employers, though ſometimes at the expence of juſtice and humanity. *T.*

reſolved, at the inſtance of the new governor:

I. That the Javaneſe princes and regents, who, according to ancient cuſtom, were obliged to come to *Batavia* to do homage to the newly-elected governor general, ſhould thenceforward be excuſed from doing ſo, as their coming to *Batavia* generally coſt the Company an expence of a ton of gold *.

II. That, thenceforward, when the governor general was abſent, the counſellor of India, who had the guard of the city, ſhould give the parole.

III. That no counſellor of India, on meeting the governor general in his carriage, ſhould, thenceforward, be obliged to ſtand ſtill, till he had paſſed.

IV. That when the governor general en-

* *f.*100,000, or about 9,090*l.* ſterling. The chief of *Samarang*, however, was appointed to receive the homage of the Javaneſe regents, on the northeaſt coaſt. A political reaſon, likewiſe, concurred to occaſion this reſolution: *Batavia* was, at that time, but thinly inhabited, or garriſoned; and as the native princes uſually brought with them, on ſuch occaſions, a large number of followers, whilſt the Javaneſe were always looked upon by the Dutch as a treacherous people, apprehenſions were entertained for the ſafety of the city. *T.*

tered

tered a church, during the performance of divine ſervice, no perſon, either man or woman, ſhould ſtand up, as had heretofore been required of them.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, the aſſembly broke up, and the newly-elected governor general was conducted to his country-ſeat, by all the members of the government in a body, where the ceremony of congratulation was performed; after which the new director general was equally accompanied to his houſe, by all the other members of the government.

A mourning for ſix weeks, for the deceaſed governor general, was directed, by an order of council, to be worn by all the qualified ſervants of the Company.

The body of the late governor, was conveyed, in the evening of that day, from his country-ſeat to the caſtle, and laid in ſtate in one of the apartments of the government-houſe, which was hung with mourning on the occaſion; a guard of halberdiers were placed over it, till the day of interment, when it was committed to the earth, in the Dutch church, and the obſequies were performed with great pomp.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, the envoys from *Bantam* left *Batavia*, who had come in order to impart to the ſupreme government the death of their king; and to requeſt that they would ſend a commiſſary to *Bantam*, with full powers to crown as king, in the room of his father, the prince who had been already choſen as ſucceſſor to the empire, in the year 1768. To this commiſſion was appointed the ordinary counſellor of India, Mr. HENRY BRETON, who ſailed on the 22d of that month, with a ſecond Bantam embaſſy, amongſt whom was the *pangorang warin*, or prince prime miniſter, who had been diſpatched for the purpoſe of accompanying the Dutch commiſſary. Mr. BRETON went by the ſhip *Concordia*, and was accompanied by a conſiderable ſuite of ſome of the higher qualified ſervants of the Company, who embarked partly on board of the ſhip *Hoolwerf*, that was equally going to *Bantam*. The coronation having taken place with great ſplendour, the commiſſary and his ſuite, accompanied by a freſh embaſſy from *Bantam*, returned to *Batavia*, on the 14th of September.

Not having any particular occupation at *Batavia*,

Batavia, I went a tour for a few days up the country, and afterwards I went upon a viſit to the country-ſeat of the governor general, DE KLERK, which is ſituated upon a little river, full two Dutch miles above the city. Around it, the agreeable ſhade of a number of ever-verdant trees ſufficiently mitigate the rays of the ſun, to give much pleaſure in viewing the ſurrounding rice-plantations. The lands which belong to this ſeat, and which extend two Dutch miles farther upwards, are let by the proprietor, for the tenth part of their produce. Having taken a view of this diſtrict, and higher up, as far as *Pondong t-Jabe*, I returned to *Batavia*, in order to make preparations for my voyage to *Holland*: but before I proceed to relate the occurrences of my homeward paſſage, I will give a detail of further obſervations reſpecting the iſland of *Java*, and the city of *Batavia*.

tance of forty or forty-five leagues: to the northweſt is *Sumatra*, from which it is divided by the ſtraits of *Sunda*; theſe are no more than ſeven leagues over at the narroweſt part, namely, from the *Varkens*, or *Hog*-point, to the oppoſite land of *Bantam*, and they are here ſtill more contracted by the iſland *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, which lies in the middle of the paſſage: to the weſt and ſouth, its ſhores are waſhed by the waves of the ſouthern ocean.

A chain of high mountains, commencing to the eaſt, in the province of *Balambouang*, and running through it to the weſtward, though gradually decreaſing in height, divides this iſland, longitudinally, into two parts, of which the northern portion is the largeſt and the beſt. The north coaſt has almoſt every where a low and woody foreland, although it has hills in ſome places, for inſtance, a little to the weſt of *Bantam*, where the high land ſtretches down to the ſea coaſt.

The iſland has ſeveral deep inlets, or bays, on this north ſide, as thoſe of *Bantam*, *Batavia*, *Cheribon*, *Samarang*, *Joana*, and *Sourabaya*, where there is every where good

good anchorage, in little depths. Indeed, the whole coaſt affords both good anchoring-ground, and a ſafe road for the veſſels that paſs and repaſs, during the good or ſoutheaſt monſoon; but in the bad monſoon, when the northweſt wind blows in hard gales, and raiſes a high ſea, it is dangerous to anchor near the coaſt, which is then almoſt every where a lee-ſhore.

The ſouth coaſts of *Java* are much leſs known than the northſide, for the Company have not hitherto taken much trouble to have them examined, ſo that the greateſt part of what is known concerning them, is gathered from the ſcattered information of the navigators who have accidentally ſailed along them, as I did from the 5th to the 15th of October, 1774, of which I have before given a detail*.

In

* In VALENTYN's map of *Java*, which contains five ſheets and a half of large paper, the ſouth coaſts of *Java* are laid down, ſeemingly, with great accuracy; the appearance of the land is every where deſcribed, and the track of ſome navigator who coaſted along it at a very ſhort diſtance, from *Prince*'s-iſland to *Balambouang*, with his ſoundings, anchorages, nature of the bottom, &c. is marked down in it; but it does not appear when, or by whom, this voyage was performed, though, from its direction, it appears probable that it was undertaken

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of JAVA.—*Face of the Country.—The North Coaſt.—The South Coaſt leſs known.—Weather.—Rivers.—Soil.—Agriculture.—Productions.—Rice—Two Sorts, upland Rice, and lowland Rice.—Pepper—Quantities furniſhed to the Company.—Sugar—Chiefly encouraged and manufactured in* JACCATRA.—*Number of Sugarmills.—Their eſtimated annual Income.—Sugarworks, and Method of making Sugar.—Different Qualities of it.—Coffee.—Quantities and Prices of it.—Cotton.—Quantities and Prices of Cotton-yarn.—Salt—An Article of Trade to* SUMATRA.—*Timber.—Large Foreſts.—Indigo—Quantities and Prices.—Other Articles.—Minerals.*

IN my former voyage to *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Bengal*, I have made ſome mention of the iſland of *Java*, and devoted an entire book to details and obſervations, reſpecting this excellent country, which may, with juſtice,

juſtice, be conſidered as the moſt precious jewel in the diadem of our Company. But as my plan did then not allow me to be very ample on this ſubject, I ſhall here enlarge, on ſuch matters as I before ſlightly touched on, or communicate others to my readers which I then purpoſely omitted.

The iſland of *Java*, conſtituting, together with *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, thoſe four large iſlands, which were formerly known by the appellation of the *Sunda* iſlands, is the ſouthernmoſt of them. According to the moſt recent and beſt obſervations, it is ſituated between 5° 50′ and 8° 46′ of ſouth latitude, and extends from 120° 5′ to 129° 50′ longitude eaſt of *Teneriffe*, thus full one hundred and eighty Dutch miles in length; and at the broadeſt part, from the point of *Coedoes*, near *Japara*, to the ſouth coaſt of the province of *Mataram*, it is about ſix and thirty Dutch miles over. Its longeſt diameter lies in the direction of w. by N.$\frac{N}{S}$N. and E. by S.$\frac{W}{S}$S. To the eaſt, it has the iſland of *Bali*, from which it is ſeparated by a ſtrait of the ſame name: to the north, it has the large iſland of *Borneo*, and thoſe of *Billeton* and *Banca*, at the diſ-

tance

In the good monſoon, the ſky is here almoſt always clear, although ſometimes in the evening a thunder-cloud comes down over the mountains: but this does not frequently happen, except near the time of the breaking up of the monſoon, when many and violent thunderſtorms rapidly ſucceed each other.

In the bad monſoon, the then prevailing weſt winds bring with them heavy rains and violent thunderſtorms; yet this makes but little alteration in the degrees of heat or cold; in the warmeſt part of the day, the thermometer generally ſtands at between 82° and 88°, and is ſeldom higher.

This degree of heat, if accompanied by a motionleſs ſtate of the air, would, by continuance, become intolerable, but all-bountiful Nature has afforded her aid to the gaſping inhabitants of this torrid clime, by the alternate land and ſea breezes, which blow here every day, in regular rotation; and, if they do not wholly moderate the exceſſive heat,

taken by the command of the Company, for the expreſs purpoſe of exploring the ſouth ſide of *Java*. Comparing M. STAVORINUS's account of part of this coaſt, in chap. 3. of book I. with this map, they ſo far perfectly agree. *T.*

yet

yet they make it more ſupportable, and not very uncomfortable to thoſe who have not to make any conſiderable ſtay here.

The weight of the air is nearly the ſame throughout the year; the barometer ſeldom varies more than two or three lines; but the air did not ſeem to me to poſſeſs ſo much elaſticity as in the northern regions. Experiments in electricity, likewiſe, do not ſucceed here ſo well as in Europe.

Java is watered by a great number of rivers, which all deſcend from the chain of mountains that divides the iſland into two parts; but none of them are ſufficiently navigable for ſhips, or large veſſels, both on account of their inſignificance, and of the bars which lie before their mouths, and upon moſt of which there is little more than one foot depth at low water. The moſt conſiderable, that I have ſeen, is that of *Joana*, together with the *Sedani* or *Tangerang*.

The ſoil is almoſt every where a reddiſh granulated clay, which, during the dry ſeaſon, can be little tilled, by reaſon of its hardneſs, without a great deal of moiſtening.

The labour that is beſtowed upon it, is very

very trifling, in compariſon with the bountiful fertility of the land in the production of various articles of neceſſity, luxury, and commercial importance.

Ploughing is performed here, as in moſt parts of India, with buffaloes, which are abundant. The plough conſiſts of a beam, or pole, eight feet in length, to which, about three feet from the fore-end, is fixed a piece of wood, ſomewhat crooked, and ſharp-pointed; this breaks the ſoil, which is afterwards turned over by a triangular iron coulter of upwards of nine inches in breadth. One or two buffaloes yoked to it, and a Chineſe, or Javaneſe, who guides the plough, leiſurely perform the work of tillage.

No manure is uſed for the land here, at leaſt in as far as regards the fields employed in more extended purpoſes of agriculture; garden-grounds, however, are moiſtened with water in which oil-cakes have been ſoaked; which emits a moſt horrid excrementitious odour, but renders the ſoil rich and fat. The only trouble that is taken with the land of the farmer, conſiſts in burning upon it all the weeds and rubbiſh which it produces; and when one piece of ground ceaſes to yield

ſufficient

ſufficient crops, another is reſorted to, and the firſt is ſuffered to lie fallow for ſeveral years, after which it becomes again fertile of itſelf.

The articles produced in the iſland of *Java*, are far greater in value than thoſe of all the neighbouring countries: they chiefly conſiſt of the following:

In the firſt place, rice: in the abundance, excellence, and flavour of which article of food, it excels all other countries; and it not only produces ſufficient for the ſupport of its own inhabitants, but alſo provides the eaſtern provinces and *Ceylon* with this grain. In my former voyage, I have given an account of this production, and it is therefore unneceſſary that I ſhould ſay much of it here. I will only add, that there are two ſpecies of it; one, which when planted, is ſet nearly under water, ſo that the tops juſt appear above the ſurface, as the rice-plants would otherwiſe die, or be deſtroyed; for being too weak to ſtand againſt the wind by itſelf, the plant ſtands in need of the ſurrounding water to ſupport it. The other ſort, which is planted in the rainy ſeaſon, on high ground, and upon the mountains, receives

the

the moiſture it requires, ſolely from the rains; but it is not ſo good as the former ſort. The lowland rice is called *ſawa*, and is planted in May; while the upland rice, which is denominated *tipar*, is planted in November, and reaped in March; and theſe two crops bear ſome analogy to the winter and ſummer grain with us: the upland rice too does not yield ſo great an encreaſe as the other*.

* Theſe two ſorts of rice are always kept ſeparate, and will not grow reciprocally. Mr. MARSDEN terms the upland rice *laddang*, and the lowland, *ſawoor*. The former of theſe, he ſays, bears the higher price, being a whiter, heartier, and better flavoured grain, and having the advantage in point of keeping. The latter is much more prolific from the ſeed, and ſubject to leſs riſk in the culture, but is of a watery ſubſtance, produces leſs encreaſe in boiling, and is ſubject to a ſwifter decay. It is, however, in more common uſe than the former. Beſides this general diſtinction, the rice of each ſort, particularly the upland, preſents a variety of ſpecies. In general, it may be obſerved that the larger grained rice is the leaſt eſteemed, and the ſmaller and whiter the moſt prized. The upland ſort is alſo called *paddee goenong*, or mountain-rice. It was one of the objects of our government in ſending Captain BLIGH to the South Sea, to procure ſeeds of this mountain-rice; and notwithſtanding the diſaſters befallen him, he obtained ſome from *Timor*, which were forwarded to his Majeſty's botanic garden at *St. Vincent*, and to other parts of the Weſt Indies, where we believe it is now cultivated with ſucceſs, *T.*

In

In the ſecond place, the pepper from *Java* is an article which, next to the finer ſpices, yields, perhaps, the greateſt proportional advantage to the Company; for though there are more parts where it is produced, and whence it is brought into the Company's warehouſes, namely, the coaſt of *Malabar*, the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, *Palembang*, and *Borneo*, yet the greateſt quantity of what the Company receive, is produced in the country of *Bantam*, and its dependent provinces on the oppoſite coaſt of *Sumatra*, as appears from the following liſt of what pepper was received at *Batavia* and *Onruſt*, in 1776-1777, viz.

		lb.
from *Bantam* and *Lampong*, -	black pepper	3,714,000
	white ditto	15,000
from *Borneo*, - - - - -	black ditto	1,117,375
	white ditto	16,250
from *Palembang*, - - - -	black ditto	497,507
from *Sumatra*'s weſt coaſt, -	ditto ditto	1,119,436 *
from the province of *Jaccatra*,	ditto ditto	1,900

The quantity of pepper ſent in that year from the coaſt of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*, has not been

* The quantity of pepper produced in all the diſtricts of *Sumatra*, under the controul of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, amounts, *communibus annis*, to twelve hundred tons, of which the greater part comes to Europe, and the remainder is ſent to *China*. *T.*

exactly aſcertained, but I think that it was about 1,500,000 pounds weight.

Sugar is a third article, and by far the chief produce of the province of *Jaccatra*; and although *Cheribon*, and the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*, annually produce conſiderable quantities of it, they cannot rival *Jaccatra* in this reſpect; and no wonder, for the culture of it was early cheriſhed by the higher powers in *Jaccatra*. The cultivators of the ſugar-cane enjoy many exemptions in point of pecuniary impoſts, and they have been encouraged by every means, not only by the government of *Batavia*, for to this there might have been particular motives, but likewiſe upon poſitive orders from the chamber of ſeventeen in Holland, under date the 20th of June, 1710.

On the other hand, the cultivation and manufacture of ſugar has never been proſecuted with vigour, or ſuitably encouraged, on the *northeaſt coaſt*. The various plans of improvement, in this reſpect, which have been ſuggeſted, have never been made any uſe of; and the laſt, which was preſented to the governor general, VAN DER PARRA, in the year 1774, by the reſident of *Japara*, Mr.

Mr. VAN DER BEKE, and which contained many very good things, was never taken any notice of. Nay, ſo far from any encouragement being held out, the importation of ſugar at *Batavia*, from the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*, has been as good as interdicted to private merchants, by a heavy duty of one rupee per picol, which was ſolely laid upon it, in order to favour the ſugarmills in the province of *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands; and thus, the diſcountenancing of the manufacture of ſugar in the other parts of *Java*, is, probably, the cauſe why the common Java ſugar has never attained to be equal in quality to that of *Jaccatra*, the latter being much more ſubſtantial and better granulated.

In the year 1710, there were one hundred and thirty-one ſugarmills in *Jaccatra*; their number, however, decreaſed conſiderably, before, during, and after, the war of *Java*, ſo that at the end of December, 1750, there were no more than ſeventy-ſeven left, of which only ſixty-ſix were in a condition to work; theſe, with ſeven in the kingdom of *Bantam*, eight in that of *Cheribon*, and thirteen in the province of *Java's northeaſt coaſt*, made the number of ſugarmills exiſting, at

that time, in the whole iſland of *Java*, one hundred and five. But, at preſent, 1777, there are ſtill conſiderably fewer.

Mr. MOSSEL has made a calculation what profit theſe ſeventy-ſeven ſugarmills, in the province of *Jaccatra*, might annually yield to their proprietors, or leſſees: he reckoned that a yearly quantity of ten millions pounds weight of ſugar might be produced by them, which he took at four rixdollars per picol, is - - - - - rixd. 320,000
and an equal quantity of molaſſes, from which afterwards, either an inferior ſugar is made, or arrack diſtilled, at one rixdollar per picol, 80,000

together, rixdollars, 400,000*

The whole may be more amply ſeen by referring to his *Obſervations on the Sugarworks in the neighbourhood of Batavia, &c.* dated the 31ſt of December, 1750.

The ſugarcane, which, in general, grows here very luxuriantly, is planted from September to April, and ſtands twelve or fifteen months in the field, according as the land

* Upwards of £.87,000 ſterling, or nearly £.1,200 for each ſugarmill. *T.*

be

be rich or poor, before it is cut. If the ſoil be good, and adapted to its cultivation, it can be cut four times; on ſome grounds leſs often, and on others only once.

The ſugarworks here, are not near ſo well or ſo ſolidly conſtructed, as thoſe which I have ſeen in the Weſt-Indies. The cane is here bruiſed between two rollers, and is therefore twice put through before all the juice is expreſſed; the ſugarmills in the Weſt-Indies have three rollers, ſo that the ſame quantity of cane can be ſqueezed in half the time that is taken for it here: the latter mode, however, requires a proportional greater degree of ſtrength; one or two buffaloes are here ſufficient, but four horſes are, at leaſt, required there for turning the mills.

The juice is twice boiled, and afterwards put into pots, upon which a layer of clay, diluted with water, and kneaded into a paſte, is laid, and it continues in this ſtate for about twenty days, during which time the clay is once or twice renewed; and by this operation the ſugar acquires a tolerable degree of whiteneſs; it is then ſet in the drying-place, which is a ſhed, covered with *atap*,

where it remains until it is perfectly dry, and the molaſſes have entirely trickled out of it, through an opening at the bottom.

When a ſugarmill is in good condition, and has no want of workpeople, or of buffaloes, about fifteen thouſand canes can be bruiſed e very four-and-twenty hours; theſe yield from nine to eleven pots, containing each fifty pounds weight of ſugar of the firſt and ſecond qualities, twelve pounds of the third quality, and from ſixteen to twenty pounds of molaſſes *.

Mr. MOSSEL calculated that all the canes which the ſixty-ſeven ſugarmills annually conſumed, covered four thouſand ſix hun-

* Many attempts have been made by the Engliſh, at *Bencoolen*, to bring to perfection the manufacture of ſugar and arrack, from the canes abounding on the coaſt of *Sumatra*: but the expences, particularly of the ſlaves, were always found to exceed the advantages. When one time, however, the plantations and works were committed to the management of Mr. HENRY BOTHAM, it manifeſtly appeared that the end was to be obtained, by employing the Chineſe in the works of the field, and allowing them a proportion of the produce, for their labour. The manufacture had arrived at a conſiderable extent, when the breaking out of the laſt war gave a check to its progreſs: but the path is pointed out, and is worth purſuing with vigour. The ſums of money thrown into *Batavia*, for arrack and ſugar, have been immenſe. *T.*

dred

dred *morgen* (9,200 acres) of land, to which adding the ſame quantity of four thouſand ſix hundred *morgen*, for paſture-ground for the buffaloes, and ten thouſand *morgen* for wood for fuel, the whole extent of ground wanted for the proſecution of that manufacture, with that number of mills, would not amount to twenty thouſand *morgen* (40,000 acres), which is but a ſmall part of the province of *Jaccatra*, north of the mountains.

The firſt quality of the ſugar differs only from the ſecond and third by its greater whiteneſs. The firſt ſort is that which is alone ſent to Europe; the ſecond goes chiefly to the weſtern parts of India; and the third, which is the browneſt, to *Japan*. There is likewiſe another ſort, which is very brown, and much leſs dry; it is called *diſpens*-ſugar, becauſe it is moſtly delivered by the *diſpenſiers*, or purveyors, from the proviſion-warehouſes of the Company, to be uſed on board of their ſhips *.

Coffee

* Dr. THUNBERG ſtates, that, on board of the ſhip by which he went from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, they were furniſhed with very wretched, coarſe, brown ſugar, inſtead of white. When he remonſtrated, in behalf of the ſick, with the captain on

Coffee is likewiſe a product yielding much profit to *Java*, and great advantage to the Company. The cultivation of it is performed in the ſame manner as in the Weſt-India iſlands. *Jaccatra* and *Cheribon* are the two diſtricts where it is moſt vigouroufly proſecuted, though the article is equally grown on the *northeaſt coaſt of Java*. *Java*, where it is not indigenous, is indebted for this production to Mr. ZWAARDEKROON, who was governor general from the year 1718 to 1725, and who procured the coffee-plant from *Mocha*, and after paying a very high price for what was firſt produced (fifteen rixdollars per picol), he continued to encourage the cultivation of it by all the means in his power. His endeavours were ſo well ſeconded by his ſucceſſors, that in the year 1753, 1,200,000 pounds weight of coffee were furniſhed from *Cheribon*, at the rate of $2\frac{113}{160}$ ſtivers per pound; and full as much from *Jaccatra*, and the

the ſubject, his reply was, that it was not unuſual for the ſhips to be ſupplied with brown and coarſe ſugar, inſtead of white ſugar; and that the difference between the prices of theſe two ſorts went into a common purſe, for the benefit of the ſuperintendants of the warehouſes, where they were packed up. T.

Preanger

Preanger lands, at $2\frac{5}{7}$ ſtivers per pound: and, in the ſequel, the quantity produced grew ſo large, that, in the year 1768, the quantity of 4,465,500 pounds weight of coffee, was delivered to the Company from *Jaccatra* and the *Preanger* lands *, at the reduced rate, according to the beſt of my recollection, of four rixdollars per picol of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †, although the native cultivator muſt deliver one hundred and ſixty pounds for a picol, which excedent in the weight is an emolument partly accruing to the commiſſary of inland affairs, and partly to the adminiſtrators in the warehouſes.

But the reaſon why *Jaccatra* appears to furniſh ſo large a proportion of coffee, is, that a conſiderable quantity of this produce that is grown in the parts of the province of *Cheribon*, which are neareſt to *Jaccatra*, come down through the laſtmentioned country to *Batavia*; the income of the commiſſary for inland affairs is hereby greatly enhanced, and it is pretended, that it is more convenient to

* *Journals of the Council of India*, 30th December, 1768. *S.*

† Equal to about 14*s.* 5*d.* ſterling per cwt. See note to page 233 of vol. 1. *T.*

the

the natives: it was the governor general VAN DER PARRA who ſettled it in this manner.

Cotton is likewiſe a production of *Java*. The ſhrub * that produces it, is cultivated in almoſt every part of the iſland by the natives; the kingdom of *Bantam*, however, excepted, where little of it is found; ſo that the yarn which is ſpun of it, in the province of *Cheribon*, and other parts, yields a conſiderable degree of gain, on being clandeſtinely imported into *Bantam*.

The Company, to whom the greateſt part of it is delivered, pay for it, according to its qualities, forty-five, thirty-five, twenty-four, and leſs, rixdollars per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds †.

Jaccatra and the *Preanger* lands furniſhed, in the year 1753, the quantity of about two hundred picols, or twenty-five thouſand pounds of cotton-yarn; and in 1768, no more than 133 picols, or 16,225 pounds. The largeſt part of the cotton-yarn produced is ſent to Holland; the reſt is employed by the

* *Goſſypium herbaceum.*

† Equal to the reſpective rates of 17½*d.* 13½*d.* and 9$\frac{5}{12}$*d.* ſterling, per pound. *T.*

natives,

natives, in weaving of cloths for their own conſumption.

Attempts have likewiſe been made to introduce the manufacture of cotton cloths, as an article of trade for the Company, and to ſuperſede part of their large importations of the article from *Hindoſtan*, but, as it appears, with very little ſucceſs hitherto.

Sixthly; *Java* yields to its poſſeſſors the article of ſalt, though it is not one of very extenſive commercial importance. Moſt of it is brought from *Rembang*, where the Company purchaſe it at the rate of ſix rixdollars per five thouſand pounds, and they export it to the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*, where it is diſpoſed of, generally, at the rate of between thirty and thirty-five rixdollars for three thouſand pounds weight *.

In the ſeventh place, the *northeaſt coaſt of*

* The purchaſe-price here ſtated, is equal to about 10*s.* 10*d.* ſterling per ton Engliſh, and the ſelling-price from 91*s.* 8*d.* to 107*s.* per ton. The natives of the ſea-coaſt of *Sumatra* exchange their benjamin and camphor for iron, ſteel, braſſwire, and ſalt; of which laſt about one hundred thouſand bamboos (gallons) are annually taken off in the bay of *Tappanooly* alone. Theſe they barter again, with the more inland inhabitants, for the products and manufactures of the country, particularly their cotton cloths; of which article very little is imported; and

of Java, and part of the diſtrict of *Cheribon*, furniſh a very large quantity of timber, logs, beams, boards, knees, &c. which is not only

and the ſale of piece-goods in the bay is very inconſiderable. Having no coin, all value is eſtimated among them by certain commodities. In trade, they calculate by *rampangs* (cakes) of benjamin; in tranſactions amongſt themſelves, more commonly by buffaloes: ſometimes braſſwire, and ſometimes beads, are uſed as a medium. A *gallon*, or ring of braſſwire, repreſents about the value of a dollar. But for ſmall payments, ſalt is the moſt in uſe. A meaſure called a *jaloop*, weighing about two pounds, is equal to a *funam*, or twopence halfpenny: a *ballee*, another ſmaller meaſure, goes for four *keppeng*, or three-fifths of a penny. The demand for ſalt is moſtly ſupplied by cargoes imported, although in one of the earlieſt letters from *Bencoolen*, to the preſidency of *Madraſs*, it is mentioned that ſalt could not be diſpoſed of as an article of trade; and they alſo manufacture it themſelves; but their method is tedious. They kindle a fire cloſe to the ſeabeach, and pour upon it ſeawater, by degrees. When this has been continued for a certain time, the water evaporating, and the ſalt being precipitated among the aſhes, they gather theſe in baſkets, or in funnels made of the bark or leaves of trees, and again pour ſeawater on them, till the particles of ſalt are well ſeparated, and paſs, with the water, into a veſſel placed below to receive them. This water, now ſtrongly impregnated, is boiled till the ſalt adheres, in a thick cruſt, to the bottom and ſides of the veſſel. In burning a ſquare fathom of firewood, a ſkilful perſon procures about five gallons of ſalt. What is thus made has ſo conſiderable a mixture of the ſalt of the wood, that it ſoon diſſolves, and cannot be carried far into the country. The coarſeſt grain is preferred. MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, pages 153 and 307. *T.*

ſufficient

ſufficient for the wants of *Batavia*, for ſhip-building, the conſtruction of houſes, and domeſtic uſes, but a very conſiderable quantity of it is annually exported to ſeveral of the out-factories, and, in particular, to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

The large foreſts which are met with in the above diſtricts, belong to the Company; the natives are obliged to fell and prepare the timber, as a kind of feudal ſervice, ſo that no other emolument is made by them, on this ſcore, than the hire of the draft-oxen by which it is conveyed to the ſea-ſhore; and this, together with the freight by ſea, form the whole of the purchaſe-money and charges of the timber.

Thoſe foreſts, however, begin at preſent to be conſiderably diminiſhed; but it is in agitation to provide againſt the probable future want of timber, by new plantations.

Next, and as an eighth article, is reckoned that of indigo, which, although not an original production of *Java*, has been cultivated with tolerable ſucceſs, ſince the Company have been eſtabliſhed here; in ſo far, that, whereas formerly that article was

obliged to be ſent for from the empire of the great mogul, and ſpecial *firmans* were obtained with ſome difficulty for that purpoſe, as appears by the ſecond article of the ſecond *firman*, ſtill preſerved at *Surat*, which I have before detailed, that trade has now been abandoned in *Hindoſtan*, and inſtead of being purchaſers, the Company have been able to be ſellers of a conſiderable quantity of the article.

The Company pay for the firſt quality thirty ſtivers per pound, and in proportion for the ſecond and third qualities. The indigo is ſorted upon its delivery at *Batavia*, by a perſon ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe. In the year 1768, *Jaccatra* furniſhed 2,875 pounds of indigo, though the inhabitants had been aſſeſſed at the quantity of 6,125 pounds.

Turmeric *, long pepper †, and cubebs ‡, are equally productions of *Java*; but the collection and exportation of theſe articles is not of great importance. The two laſt are moſt in demand for *Surat*.

* *Curcuma.* † *Piper longum.* ‡ *Piper cubeba.*

With

With minerals and metals *Java* is the leaſt of all provided; as far as I know, none are met with, but a little iron ore and ſtar-ſtones*, which is called, in the Malay tongue, or by the natives, *maaſouron*.

* *Aſterias.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Diviſion of JAVA.—*Its general Population.*—BANTAM.—*Boundaries.*—*Government.*—*Population.*—*Dependencies.*—*The Country of* LAMPOON.—*Eſtabliſhment of the Company at* BANTAM.—*Expences.*—*Iſlands in the Straits of* SUNDA, *&c.*—*Peculiar Unhealthineſs of* BANTAM.—JACCATRA, *and its* PREANGER *Lands.*—*Boundaries.*—*Population.*—*Adminiſtration.*—*Rivers.*—*The Mookervaart.*—*Canals and Drains cut by the Dutch.*—*Productions.*—CHERIBON.—*Boundaries.*—*Population.*—*Productions.*—*Eſtabliſhment.*—*Expences and Profits.*—*The Empire of the* SOESOEHOENAM.—*Former Extent and Grandeur.*—*Preſent reduced Situation.*—*The Dominions of the Sultan.*—*Iſland of* MADURA.—*Titles of the reigning Soeſoehoenam, and of the Sultan.*—*Political Relations of the Company with theſe Princes.*

WHEN the Company firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves here, *Java* was divided into three large empires, namely, *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, and the empire of the *Soeſoehoenam*, which laſt was the moſt extenſive, and comprehended full two-thirds of the whole iſland,

iſland, *Cheribon* being feudatory to it.—Times have now ſo far altered, that the iſland is at preſent divided into five ſtates, or empires, which altogether contain one hundred and twenty-three provinces, or governments, amongſt which the kingdom of *Bantam* is conſidered but as one.

Each province, or government, conſiſts of a certain number of *tjatjars*, or families, the number of which, throughout the whole of *Java*, including *Bantam*, amounted, in the year 1777, to 152,014.

Theſe are calculated, upon an average, throughout *Java*, to conſiſt of two men, two women, and two children, forming, therefore, a population of ſouls 912,084* but if to this we add the inhabitants of the principality of *Madura*, which, though a ſeparate iſland, is always taken together with *Java*, and which contains ten thouſand families, or . ſouls 60,000

the whole population of *Java* and *Madura*, will amount to . 972,084

* Huysers gives the population of *Java*, excluſive of *Madura*, as follows, viz.

aſſuredly a very ſlender number of inhabitants for ſuch an extenſive iſland. It was, however, formerly much more populous; but the long and bloody wars with which this country has been afflicted, for nearly a century and a half, before the Company ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing themſelves in that firm manner in which their power here is at preſent rooted, is ſufficient to make us ceaſe from being ſurprized, at the paucity of the number of the inhabitants of this extremely fertile iſland. The laſt war waged againſt the empire of the *ſoeſochoenam*, ſeems, in particular, to have produced a great degree of depopulation. According to the ſtatement of the population, made in the year 1738, the number of families in

in the kingdom of *Bantam*	5,000	tjatjars, or families
in *Jaccatra*	33,914	ditto
in *Cheribon*	15,000	ditto
in the *Mataram*, or empire of *Java* proper	94,200	ditto

in all 148,114 families, reckoned at ſix individuals each, makes the whole number of inhabitants 888,684; but he adds in a note, that, according to more recent accounts, the population of *Java* is calculated at one million and a half, or two millions of people. Theſe ſtatements, however, do not include the inhabitants of *Batavia*. *T.*

the

the territories of the *ſoeſoehoenam* alone, amounted to 309,700, or . ſouls 1,858,200
and at preſent (1777), the ſame lands, which were then under the dominion of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, part of which are now, however, taken from him, contain no more than 118,100 families, or 708,600

1,149,600

making a difference of more than the half, which would appear to me too improbable to be believed, had I not had the inſpection of the authentic documents relative thereto *.

The

* VALENTYN's ſtatement of the population of *Java*, in his time, ſhews a ſtill greater diſproportion; his account, in which he takes every *tjatjar*, or family, at five perſons only, gives—

in the kingdom of *Bantam*, excluſive of the city of *Bantam* .	families	5,000,	or perſons	40,850
in *Jaccatra*, excluſive of *Batavia* . .	ditto	19,390,	or ditto	96,950
in *Cheribon* and its dependencies . .	ditto	63,120,	or ditto	305,600
in the countries belonging to the emperor of *Mataram*, or the *ſoeſoehoenam* . . .	ditto	483,570,	or ditto	2,417,850

The actual five diviſions of *Java*, are: *Bantam*, *Jaccatra*, *Cheribon*, the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, and that of the *ſultan*.

The kingdom of *Bantam*, which forms the weſtern diviſion of *Java*, is about one hundred Dutch miles in circumference, each being of twelve hundred Rhineland roods. The Indian ocean waſhes it on the ſouth; to the northweſt and north it has the ſtraits of *Sunda*, and the iſlands ſituated in them; to the eaſt, it is divided from the empire of *Jaccatra*, by a narrow ſlip of land, called *Grending*, lying a little to the weſtward of the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang*, and by a chain of mountains, known by the name of *Goenong Tjeberum*, which terminate to the ſouth in the bay of *Wynkoopſbergen*.

in the county of *Balambouang*, by a rough calculation, full . .	families	50,000, or perſons	300,000
and in the iſland of *Madura* about . .	ditto	30,000, or ditto	150,000
		total	3,311,250

A decreaſe in this iſland from upwards of three millions to leſs than one million of people, in about ſixty years, is an amazing inſtance of the deſtructive agency of war. *T.*

Bantam

Bantam became ſtrictly connected with the Company, in the year 1680, by means of the aſſiſtance afforded by them againſt Sultan AGON, who had formerly abdicated the throne, but who had reſumed the ſceptre again; his ſon ſolicited and obtained the aid of the Company, towards eſtabliſhing him in the government. Yet the country remained, in a manner, independent, and its trade continued free; but upon this, encroachments were practiſed from time to time, and it was ſought to draw the bands of connection with *Bantam* more cloſe, by giving our aſſiſtance, towards reducing the revolted province of *Succadana*, in *Borneo*, which formerly belonged to *Bantam*, and is ſtill an appendage of that kingdom *. At laſt, in 1751, *Bantam* became wholly a fief of the Company, occaſioned by the fortunate iſſue of the commotions there; the king was then privately taken hold of, and continued a priſoner, while a prince of the

* *Succadana*, together with *Landak*, another province belonging to *Bantam* in the iſland of *Borneo*, were ceded, in property, to the Dutch Company, by the king of *Bantam*, in the year 1778, and taken poſſeſſion of by them. See vol. i. page 343. *T.*

blood royal, who had been kept in exile at *Ceylon*, was exalted to the throne in his ſtead; and a yearly tribute of one hundred bhars of pepper, amounting to thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds weight, is now paid to the Company from *Bantam*.

The rule of ſucceſſion was, at the deſire of the king, regulated by the Company, who chooſe and appoint the heir apparent to be hereditary prince, as was done in the year 1767: this hereditary prince ſucceeded to his deceaſed father in the month of September, 1777, and was formally crowned as king of *Bantam*, by Mr. BRETON, the miniſter plenipotentiary deputed by the Company for that purpoſe, as I have related in the laſt chapter.

Although the ſultan, or king, of *Bantam*, is a vaſſal of the Company, he is, nevertheleſs, a ſovereign prince, lord and maſter of life and death, and uncontrouled in his authority over his own ſubjects; he lays taxes, augments, or lightens, them, according to his own good pleaſure; and has all other regalia, and marks of ſovereignty, appertaining to a free monarch, excepting that he is reſtricted from entering into any alliances,

or

or engagements, either with any European powers, or with the Indian princes; as likewiſe from ſelling any of the productions of his territories to any other than to the Company; and this reſtriction as to trade relates not only to his kingdom of *Bantam*, but alſo to the articles produced in his dependent provinces in *Borneo* and *Sumatra*; thoſe in the laſtmentioned iſland are the two *Lampons*; diſtinguiſhed into *Lampon Samanca* and *Lampon Toulang Bauwang* *.

Bantam

* The country of *Lampoon* begins on the weſt coaſt, at the river of *Padanggoochie*, which divides it from *Paſſummah*, and extends acroſs the ſouth extremity of *Sumatra*, as far as *Palembang*, on the northeaſt ſide. On the ſouth and eaſt ſides, it is waſhed by the ſea, having ſeveral ports in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, particularly *Keizers*, or *Emperors*, and *Lampoon* bays: and the great river *Toulang Bauwang* runs through the heart of it, riſing from a conſiderable lake between the ranges of mountains. The country of *Lampoon* is beſt inhabited in the central and mountainous parts, where the people live independent, and, in ſome meaſure, ſecure from the inroads of their eaſtern neighbours, the Javans. It is probably within but a few centuries, that the ſouthweſt coaſt of this country has been the habitation of any conſiderable number of people; and it has been ſtill leſs viſited by ſtrangers, owing to the unſheltered nature of the ſea thereabouts, the want of ſoundings, in general, which render the navigation wild and dangerous for country veſſels, and to the rivers being ſmall and rapid, with ſhallow bars, and almoſt continually a high ſurf. If you aſk the Lampoon people of

Bantam has the ſmalleſt population of all the diviſions of *Java*; its whole extent comprehends no more than five thouſand tjatjars, or families, and, conſequently, only thirty thouſand inhabitants.

The Company keep in Fort *Speelwyck*, including the guard which is ſtationed at Fort *Diamond*, an eſtabliſhment amounting in number, when complete, to three hundred men *.

The

theſe parts, where they originally came from, they anſwer, from the hills, and point out an inland place near the great lake, whence, they ſay, their forefathers emigrated; and further than this, it is impoſſible to trace. They, of all the Sumatrans, have the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to the Chineſe, particularly in the roundneſs of the face, and conſtructure of the eyes. They are alſo the faireſt people of the iſland; and the women are the talleſt, and eſteemed the moſt handſome. Inland of *Samanca*, ſay the Lampoons, there is a diſtrict, inhabited by a ferocious people, who are a terror to the neighbouring country. Their mode of atoning for offences againſt their own community, is by bringing to their *dooſoon*, or village, the heads of ſtrangers. The account may be true; but without further authentication, ſuch ſtories are not to be too implicitly credited, on the faith of a people who are fond of the marvellous, and addicted to exaggeration. MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, page 262 and 264. *T.*

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Company at *Bantam*, conſiſted of twenty civil ſervants, one clergyman, five ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, ſeventeen belonging to the artillery, thirty ſeamen, 199 ſoldiers, and ten mechanics; in all 282 Europeans.

The air is, in general, here very unhealthy, and the mortality pretty conſiderable.

ropeans. On account of its vicinity to *Batavia*, no revenues, either territorial or commercial, are drawn from this place; but the charges of the eſtabliſhment are not heavy; in 1779, they amounted to *f.*78,262 (about £.7,115. ſterling), which is a very nothing in compariſon with the benefit derived from the pepper furniſhed by *Bantam*. To the dominion of the king of *Bantam* belong all the iſlands in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, from *Prince's*-iſland to *Pulo Babi*, or *Hog*-iſland, cloſe to his capital city. Many of them are inhabited, and produce pepper; others are deſert, or are the reſort of pirates and ſmugglers, who are dexterous in carrying on an illicit trade in pepper with foreign nations. In November, 1769, the Dutch Company's cruiſing grab the *Zeeleeuw* (the Sea-lion), was attacked, taken, and the crew maſſacred, in the bay of *Lampoon*, by theſe pirates. The *Klapper*, or *Cocoa*-iſlands, which lie on the ſouth coaſt of *Java*, near the ſtraits of *Sunda*, are uninhabited, and are only occaſionally reſorted to for the ſake of the edible birds'-neſts which are found there; but they are ſaid to be greatly infeſted with enormous ſnakes. *Prince's*-iſland is called, in the Malay language, *Pulo Selan*; and in the language of its inhabitants, *Pulo Paneitan*. It is woody, and a very ſmall part of it only has been cleared. VALENTYN landed on it in 1694, and found it then uninhabited. He adds, that there is good anchorage in the ſouthweſt bay, in nine and ten fathoms, and two ſmall freſhwater rivulets running into it. Lieutenant COOK, in the *Endeavour*, lay ten days on the ſoutheaſt ſide, in eighteen fathoms. There is a town upon it, called *Samadang*, of about four hundred houſes, divided into two parts, by a river of briackiſh water. There is no remarkable hill upon it, yet the Engliſh call the higheſt eminence upon it, the Pike. It was formerly much frequented by the India ſhips of many nations.

able. In the year 1768, that is, from the beginning of September to the end of Auguſt,

tions, eſpecially the Engliſh, which have, of late, forſaken it, as it is ſaid, becauſe the water is bad, and touch either at *North*-iſland, a ſmall iſland that lies on the coaſt of *Sumatra*, at the eaſt entrance of the ſtraits, or at *New*-bay, which lies only a few leagues from *Prince's*-iſland, at neither of which places any conſiderable quantity of other refreſhments can be procured. At *Prince's*-iſland may be had turtle, with which the firſt, the ſecond, and perhaps the third, ſhip that comes in the ſeaſon, may be tolerably ſupplied; thoſe bought by the *Endeavour*'s people coſt, upon an average, a halfpenny or three farthings per pound; large fowls, a dozen of them for a Spaniſh dollar; ſmall deer, not larger than a rabbit, twopence a-piece; larger deer, about the ſize of a ſheep, but of which only two were brought down, a rupee; many kinds of fiſh, tolerably cheap; cocoa-nuts, at the rate of a hundred for a dollar, if picked, or one hundred and thirty, if taken promiſcuouſly; plaintains in great plenty; ſome pineapples, watermelons, jacks, and pumpkins; beſides rice, the greateſt part of which is of the mountain kind, yams, and ſeveral other vegetables, at very reaſonable rates. The other iſlands in the ſtraits of *Sunda*, appertaining to the dominions of *Bantam*, are too inſignificant to have been particularly deſcribed. They are moſtly entirely level, founded upon beds of coral, and covered with trees. A few, however, have ſteep and naked ſides, ſuch as the iſland *Dwars in den Weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the two very ſmall round ones, called by the Dutch, *Brabandſch Hoedje*, and *Toppers Hoedje*, and by the Engliſh the *Cap*, and *Button*. The gentlemen accompanying Lord MACARTNEY in the *Lion*, had occaſion to viſit the two laſtmentioned; they were ſo ſteep and rugged, that it was difficult to get aſhore on them: at a little diſtance, they might be taken for the remains of old caſtles,

Auguſt, out of the complete number of the Company's ſervants, including penniſts, mariners, and military, being three hundred and ſeventeen, the deaths amounted to ſixty, which is about one in five.

The diviſion which follows next in geographical order, is that of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands; *Preanger* lands is the denomination given to thoſe diſtricts which did not anciently belong to the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, but which have been united to the Company's poſſeſſions ſince the year 1677: with reſpect to their adminiſtration, they are divided between *Batavia*, and the reſidency of *Cheribon* *.

tles, mouldering into ruins, with tall trees already growing upon the tops; but, upon a nearer view, they betrayed evident marks of a volcanic origin: in the *Cap* were found two caverns, running horizontally into the ſide of the rock, in which were a number of thoſe birds'-neſts, ſo much prized by the Chineſe epicures. The ſituation of theſe places was, on that occaſion, determined with the greateſt nicety, viz:

	South lat.	Eaſt long. from *London*.
Thwart-the-way . .	5° 55′ . .	105° 43′
North iſland . . .	5 38 . . .	105 43 30″
Cap	5 58 30″ .	105 48 30
Button	5 49 . . .	105 48 30

T.

* See Mossel's Obſervations upon *Jaccatra*, and the *Preanger* lands, page 1. *S.*

This

This diviſion is full one hundred and ten Dutch miles in circumference. To the weſt, it borders upon *Bantam*, with the diſtricts of *Greending*, *Badak*, and *Pagadongan*; to the ſouth, upon the ſouthern ocean, for the moſt part with the diſtrict of *Jampan*, and partly with that of *Soekapoura*, belonging to the Cheribon *Preanger* lands; to the eaſt, upon the government of Cheribon itſelf, with the diſtricts of *Timpanganten*, *Samadang*, *Pagadeen*, and *Pamanoekang*; to the north, upon the ſea, with the diſtricts of *Pamanoekang*, *Tjaſſen*, *Crawang*, and that of *Jaccatra* proper, under *Batavia*.

The country of *Jaccatra*, with its *Preanger* lands, comprizes, upon the whole, thirty diſtricts, containing together 33,914 tjatjars, or families, thus 203,484 inhabitants, of which the diſtrict of *Batavia* alone contains 19,469 families, or 116,814 inhabitants; this ſhews that the other diſtricts are proportionally much leſs populous, whereby a great extent of excellent land remains uncultivated and neglected, and even what is tilled is owing to the induſtry and perſeverance of the Chineſe who are ſettled here.

The

The paucity of inhabitants in the country of *Jaccatra*, cannot, like that in the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, be attributed to the ravages of a deſtructive war; for *Jaccatra* has, ſince the laſt ſiege of *Batavia*, in the year 1629, been very little ſubjected thereto, except in the inſurrection of the Chineſe, in the year 1740, when even the Javans of *Jaccatra* were the leaſt concerned in it; but it may principally be aſcribed to the circumſtance, that, after the arms of the Company were victorious over the kingdom of *Jaccatra*, and they had taken the capital, having likewiſe defeated the army of *Bantam*, all the inhabitants of the country were carried away into the kingdom of *Bantam*; whereby *Jaccatra* remained, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, nearly in an uninhabited ſtate.

It appears, however, according to the ſtatement of Mr. Mossel, that theſe lands contained only, in the year 1753, the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls; ſo that, in oppoſition to the other parts of *Java*, the population has here been conſiderably augmented *.

* See Memorial of Mr. Mossel, reſpecting the ſtate of the Eaſt-India Company, dated the 30th of November, 175. *S.*

Every

Every diſtrict has its regent, who are all appointed immediately by the ſupreme Indian government at *Batavia*. Theſe regents decide in civil matters of little importance; but affairs of conſequence they muſt lay before the commiſſary of inland affairs, or before the governor general.

Jaccatra is watered and fertilized by ſeveral rivers, moſt of which, however, are little better than ſmall rivulets, in the good or dry ſeaſon. The largeſt of theſe are the *Sedani*, or the river of *Tangerang*, and that of *Crawang*; they deſcend from the high mountains inland, and flow into the ſea, in a northerly direction.

The river of *Tangerang* runs into the ſea, not far from the point of *Ontong Java*, and near its mouth there is a ſmall poſt of the Company, called the *Kwal*. Juſt below that poſt, the river gives a part of its water to the *Mookervaart*, which is a canal cut from that place to *Batavia*, in order to provide the canals and moats of the city with water; but as, in the rainy ſeaſon, this river ſwells up very high, and too much would then be conveyed through that cut to the city, a lock was made, in the year 1770, at the upper

end

end of the ſaid *Mookervaart*, which coſt full ſeventy thouſand rixdollars *, and whereby now no more water than is wanted is ſuffered to come to *Batavia*.

It is not the water alone of the river of *Tangerang* that ſupplies this canal, but likewiſe that of the rivers of *Ankee*, *Paſſangarang*, and *Grogol*; and it is through the *Mookervaart* that *Batavia* receives moſt of its water; for that which comes down by what is called the great river of *Jaccatra*, is very trifling in quantity compared with this. The drain, called the *Slokhaan* (the glutton, or cormorant), which was dug in the year 1746, a little to the eaſtward of the river of *Jaccatra*, receives the water from the upper grounds, and thus deprives it of its greateſt force †. The conformation of the country likewiſe

* About 15,270*l.* ſterling. *T.*

† The Dutch ſeem to have pitched upon *Batavia* for the convenience of water-carriage; and, in that reſpect, it is, indeed, a ſecond Holland, and ſuperior to every other place in the world. There are very few ſtreets in the city that have not a canal of conſiderable breadth running through, or rather ſtagnating in them, and continued for ſeveral miles beyond the town, interſecting, together with five or ſix rivers, in almoſt every direction, the dead flat in which it is ſituated; nor is this the worſt, for the fence of every field and garden is a ditch; and

likewiſe requires that *Batavia* ſhould receive its water from the weſtward, as, on that ſide, it is more elevated than on the other, according to ſeveral obſervations made by ſurveyors.

The rivers, the *Sontar*, the *Bacaſſie*, and the *Tjikarang*, find their way into the ſea, to the eaſt of *Batavia*.

The productions of *Jaccatra* are principally coffee, ſugar, and rice; likewiſe indigo, cotton-yarn, turmeric, and cadjang, or lentiles, from which laſt oil is preſſed *.

The

and interſperſed, among the cultivated ground, there are many filthy fens, bogs, and moraſſes, as well freſh as ſalt. Nay, ſuch is the influence of habit, both upon the taſte and underſtanding, that Governor General VAN DER PARRA, whoſe country-houſe was ſituated upon the only riſing ground near *Batavia*, contrived, at ſome trouble and expence, to incloſe his own garden with a ditch. *T.*

* In 1778, were ſold, in Holland, the following articles, being productions of the colony of *Jaccatra*:

2,000,000*lbs.* of ſugar, at four ſtivers.
2,000,000*lbs.* of coffee, at eleven ditto.
500,000*lbs.* of pepper, at ſeventeen ditto.
100 leagers of arrack.
10,000*lbs.* of candied ginger.
cotton-yarn, to the amount of *f.*20,000, and
indigo, to the amount of *f.*1000.

This may be taken as the annual quantity of what *Jaccatra* is able to furniſh for Europe, and the gain upon theſe articles is conſiderable,

The Company poſſeſs this empire by right of conqueſt, having taken it from its king, who was obliged to yield to their arms in the year 1619; and *Batavia* was founded on or near the ſcite of his capital city, *Jaccatra*.

The third diviſion of *Java* is *Cheribon*, which, together with its *Preanger* lands, may be about half the ſize of *Jaccatra* and its dependencies. It borders, to the weſt, upon *Jaccatra*, with the diſtricts of *Limbangan*, *Tjauris*, *Impanagara*, and *Indramayo*; to the ſouth, upon the ſouthern ocean, with the diſtrict of *Soekapoura*; to the eaſt, upon the province of *Banjoemaas*, or *Panjoemag*, belonging to the ſultan, with the diſtrict of *Soekapoura*, upon the country of the *Joeſoe-hoenam*, with the diſtricts of *Oetame* and *Gabang*, and upon the ſtrand-regency of *Brebes*, with the diſtrict of *Laſſary*; and to the

conſiderable, as none of them coſt much; the pepper and coffee ſcarcely $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the ſugar $1\frac{1}{2}$, ſtivers per pound. Of ſugar, the Company further diſpoſe every year of full four millions of pounds weight, in *Japan*, *Surat*, the *Malabar*, and other eſtabliſhments, upon which they likewiſe make conſiderable profits; and about the ſame quantity, 4,000,000*lb.* is exported in private trade, together with immenſe quantities of arrack, rice, and other articles. The revenues and expences of *Jaccatra*, are included in thoſe of *Batavia*, which we add to the account of that city given in chapter iv. *T.*

north, upon the ſea, with the abovementioned diſtrict of *Gabang*, and thoſe of *Cheribon* proper, and *Indramayo*.

It comprizes in all nine diſtricts, containing full fifteen thouſand tjatjars, or families, being *ſikapo*, or fixed inhabitants, beſides the *boedjango*, or unmarried, and ſtrangers.

Theſe lands are divided between two princes, the ſultan ANOM SOEPOE CHERIBON, and the PANAM BAHAN, both of whom are feudatories of the Company. Of the laſt, it is a rule, that the children ſucceed to the father in his dignity, provided they are inclined to do ſo; and if they do not chooſe to be burdened with the cares of authority, they have the right of nominating a deputy to exerciſe their hereditary power, in their ſtead.

Formerly, there were three princes of *Cheribon*; but in the year 1769, one of them, not treating his ſubjects well, was ſent in exile, by the ſupreme government, to *Amboyna*, where I ſaw him, in the year 1775.

Theſe princes are obliged to deliver all the produce of their country, for certain fixed prices, excluſively to the Company; and neither

neither the princes, nor their ſubjects, are allowed to have any communication with ſtrangers, much leſs to carry on trade with foreign nations in any of the articles produced upon their lands. On the part of the Company, as much care is taken as poſſible, to prevent the contravention of theſe conditions; and they have a reſident here, with a garriſon of ſeventy Europeans, ſtationed in a ſmall fort, in the diſtrict of *Cheribon*, whilſt there is alſo an outpoſt ſtationed at *Indramayo*.

This empire put itſelf under the protection of the Company in the year 1680. In criminal matters, the adminiſtration reſts in the combined authority of the two princes, united to the Company's reſident.

Its productions are coffee, timber, cotton-yarn, areca, indigo, ſugar, and alſo a little pepper; this laſt article grew formerly here in ſuch abundance, that in the year 1680, the bhar of three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds was paid for at the rate of no more than ten Spaniſh dollars *.

Before

* This, at the rate at which Spaniſh dollars are current in theſe parts of India, is equal to about 16*s.* ſterling per *cwt.*

Before the war of the year 1740, the *Soesoehoenam*, or the emperor of *Java*, as he was called, was the sole proprietor of all the country, lying eastward of the lastmentioned empire of *Cheribon*, which was the western boundary of that of the *Soesoehoenam*. This comprized all the rest of the island, and was inclosed, on the other sides, by the sea, and the narrow straits which separate *Java* from the islands of *Bali* and *Madura*. It extended in length, from east to west, one

English. *Cheribon* does not contribute a few, or unimportant, articles to the consumption of India, and to the trade to Europe. It yields yearly, for the former, at least one thousand lasts of rice, and one million pounds of sugar, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 stivers per pound; and for Europe, at least

30,000*lbs.* of cotton-yarn, of letter A, at 14 stivers (1*s.* 3*d.*)
10,000*lbs.* of indigo, at 30 stivers . . (2*s.* 9*d.*)

and 1,200,000*lbs.* of coffee, at $2\frac{1}{8}$ stivers.

Yet, in 1778, no more than 1,000,000*lbs.* of the Cheribon coffee were sold in Holland, at eleven stivers per pound. The intrinsic revenues of this settlement are amply sufficient to defray the charges. In 1779, the last amounted to *f.*12,384, and the former to *f.*35,761, shewing a favourable balance of *f.*23,177, or 2,107*l.* sterling. In 1776-1777, the establishment of *Cheribon* consisted of ninety-eight Europeans; namely, fourteen civil servants, one clergyman, three surgeons, two artillerymen, fifteen seamen, sixty soldiers, and three mechanics. The resident at *Cheribon* is said to make no less than 70,000 rixdollars (upwards of 15,000*l.* sterling, per annum. *T.*

hundred

hundred Dutch miles, and in breadth, upon an average, about five-and-twenty. It contained fifty-ſix provinces, or diſtricts, large and ſmall; and, as we have before ſtated, three hundred and nine thouſand ſeven hundred tjatjars, or families. After that period, thirty of thoſe provinces, all ſituated on the ſeacoaſt, were ceded to the Company, for an equivalent in money; and ſeven, amongſt which was the *Mataram*, to the ſultan MANKO BOENI. This empire, anciently ſo formidable to the Company, is now ſo reduced in power and extent, that its monarch can at preſent (1777) enumerate no more than ſixteen provinces remaining under his dominion, containing only thirty-three thouſand two hundred tjatjars, or families. On what occaſion, and in what manner, the empire was thus torn aſunder, and how part of it came to be given to the ſultan MANKO BOENI, to the prejudice of MASSEYD, who is now under the preſent reigning ſultan, has been detailed in another place *.

The dominions which fell to the lot of the ſultan MANKO BOENI, who is ſtill

* See page 120-123, of volume II. T.

living, conſiſt of ſeven provinces, which lie interſperſed between thoſe which have remained with the *ſoeſoehoenam*; and this intermixture of the territories of theſe two monarchs, makes them, individually, much more feeble, than if the poſſeſſions of each were adjoining to one another, and formed one compact country. The ſeven provinces belonging to the ſultan contain, together, fifteen thouſand eight hundred tjatjars, or families; the moſt extenſive and moſt important of them, is the province of *Mataram*, which is waſhed by the ſouthern ocean.

Although the principality of *Madura* is now ſolely confined to the iſland of that name, which lies to the northeaſt of *Java*, from which it is ſeparated by a narrow ſtrait of ſcarcely a league and a half over, it has always been reckoned to belong to the government of *Java's northeaſt coaſt:* the whole iſland is divided into three diſtricts, and contains thirty thouſand tjatjars, or families; it is thirty Dutch miles in length, and, upon an average, ſcarcely ſix in breadth.

All theſe princes poſſeſs their dominions in the quality of vaſſals of the Company, whoſe pretenſions to the paramount authority,

rity, are grounded upon a voluntary ceſſion of all his dominions, alleged to have been made in favour of the Company, by the late deceaſed *ſoeſoehoenam*, upon his death-bed, in the year 1746: this, at leaſt, is what is pretended, for the ſake of appearance, as it is otherwiſe pretty well underſtood, that the emperor was dead, before this pretended ceſſion was made known to the grandees of the court; but this is kept as much a ſecret as poſſible; though what could they have done againſt the Company, who were poſſeſſed of the power of maintaining the validity of the ceſſion, by force of arms? The empire, thus weakened and diminiſhed, was afterwards given, as a fief, to one of the princes of the imperial race, to the prejudice of MASSEYD; who, however, was quieted with a certain appanage, and the promiſe, that if the preſent *ſoeſoehoenam* died without iſſue, his children, in the right of being the neareſt of blood, ſhould ſucceed to the imperial dignity. There is, at preſent, however, no probability that this will ever come to paſs, as the *ſoeſoehoenam* has not only ſeveral children, but one of them has already been appointed his ſuc-

ceſſor in the empire by the Company; and a ſimilar favour was equally granted in the year 1776, to one of the ſons of the ſultan MANKO BOENI.

The titles which the preſent reigning *ſoeſoehoenam* has aſſumed are as follows: *Soeſoehoenam* (monarch, or ſole ruler), *Pacoeboeana* (axis of the globe, literally nail or ſpike of the earth), *Senepatty Hiengalaga* (commander in chief of all the armies), *Abdul Rachman* (holy prieſt, literally ſlave of the moſt merciful God), *Sahiedien* (ſovereign king), *Panatagama* (prince of the faithful): thoſe of the ſultan of the *Mataram*, are, *Sultan* (prince or king), *Hamin Coeboeana* (regent of the world), *Senepatty Hiengalaga*, *Abdul Rachman*, *Sahiedien*, *Panatagama*, *Calif*, *Attu lach* (vicegerent of the Almighty).

All theſe princes bound themſelves, in the year 1756, not to deliver any of the products of their reſpective countries to any other than the Company; and, in every caſe, to act both defenſively and offenſively, in conjunction with the Company, againſt their enemies.

The Company are pretty well ſecured againſt

againſt the departure from theſe ſtipulations, on the part of the Javaneſe princes, by being in the abſolute poſſeſſion of almoſt all the provinces that border upon the ſea, which have partly fallen to them by the fortune of war, and partly by ceſſion from the emperor; as a compenſation for which, they have to pay an annual ſum of fifty thouſand Spaniſh dollars, from which, however, thirty thouſand are deducted, for the charges of the detachment of European military, that attend the emperor at his court at *Djolo*, or *Soweacarta*. Theſe provinces have each their regent of their own nation, under the title of *tommagong patti*, who are reſpectively ſubordinate to the ſeveral reſidents.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Importance of JAVA *to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company.—Reflections on the Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes—And towards their Javaneſe Subjects.—Neceſſity of Reform in theſe Points.*

FROM all that has preceded, the great importance of the iſland of *Java*, to the Eaſt-India Company, will have very evidently appeared. It is fertile in productions, which have now, by the progreſſive increaſe of luxury in the world, become articles almoſt of the firſt neceſſity, whereby this colony is adequate to bring as much, if not more, wealth into the coffers of the Company, than the ſpice-iſlands, which have hitherto been conſidered as the chief means of the proſperity, if not even eſſential to the exiſtence, of that body. But *Java* can only hope to be equally precious with the ſpice-iſlands, by a change of circumſtances, by cordial exertions to promote the cultivation

of

of its highly fertile ſoil with induſtry and vigour, by ceaſing to depreſs and impoveriſh the natives by conſtant injuſtice and continual extortion, and by avoiding, in future, every ſpecies of war, which, by producing a ſtill greater depopulation, would bring deſtruction to the Indians, and ruin to the Company.

The princes of the country, although ſovereign over their own ſubjects*, are, nevertheleſs, the one more, and the other leſs, vaſſals of the Company; and in ſo far jubjected to them, that the mode of ſucceſſion to their thrones is regulated, and the heirs of their dignity are nominated, by the Company. The diſmemberment of the empire of the *ſoeſoehoenam*, and the poſſeſſion of the ſeacoaſts, render the Company ſecure from that power, formerly ſo redoubted, and from the conſequences of ſuch prejudicial engagements and alliances, as might be

* Yet, whenever the Company have judged it expedient, they have not heſitated to interfere in the internal government of theſe dependent princes: an inſtance of this occurs in the laſt chapter, where we are informed, that one of the princes of *Cheribon* was depoſed by the Company, for miſconduct towards his own ſubjects. T.

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entered into, by the native princes, with European powers. And, although thoſe princes bow themſelves with reluctance under the yoke that has been impoſed upon them, yet they are wiſe enough to conſider, that, if they were even fortunate enough to diſengage themſelves from their preſent bondage, their power has been ſo broken by the depopulation of the country, that, freed from the Dutch Company, they would ſtill be obliged to yield to the firſt foreign nation, that ſhould have the inclination, and the ability, to eſtabliſh themſelves upon the iſland, and, perhaps, be reduced to a more cruel ſtate of ſervitude, than they now experience under their actual taſkmaſters; of which they have a ſtriking example before them, in the mogul empire.

I am of opinion, therefore, that, if the government at *Batavia* were to cheriſh, protect, and favour, as much as poſſible, the ſeveral princes of *Java*, giving them every indulgence in matters of ſmall moment, without, however, ſuffering any diminution of the power and influence that has been attained over them, thoſe princes would ſee the ſound policy, of rather maintaining the

Company

Company in their poſſeſſions on the iſland, than allowing them to be transferred to other hands, without oppoſition on their part.

If it be neceſſary for the Company to attach theſe princes to them by the bands of political intereſt, it is no leſs an object of importance for their welfare, and perhaps of neceſſity to their ſafety, that they equally aim at ſecuring the attachment to them of their Javaneſe ſubjects; by rendering their lives at leaſt ſupportable to them, and oppoſing and preventing the ſhameful treatment and crying injuſtice, which theſe poor people experience at the hands of the governor, reſidents, and regents. The common Javaneſe are in an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery; they are no more maſters of what little they ſeem to poſſeſs, than an unconditional ſlave, who, together with all he has, belongs to the maſter who has purchaſed him, his labour, and his poſterity, for money. The common Javan, is not only obliged, at fixed periods, to deliver a certain quantity of the fruits of his induſtry to the regent placed over him, in behalf of the Company, for whatever price the latter chooſes to allow him,

him, and that price, moreover, paid in goods, which are charged to him at ten times their real value; but he likewiſe cannot conſider what may remain to him as his own property, not being permitted to do with it what he may think fit, nor allowed to ſell it to others, at a higher, or a lower rate; and he is, on the contrary, compelled to part with this alſo, as well as what was claimed of him in behalf of the Company, to the ſame petty tyrant, for himſelf, at an arbitrary, and frequently at an infamous price. The regents experience, in their turn, though, perhaps, in a leſs iniquitous degree, the oppreſſion of the reſidents; whilſt in the country of *Jaccatra*, the commiſſary for inland affairs acts the ſame part, in a no leſs unjuſtifiable manner, under the immediate eye of the governor general, towards the native regents and common Javaneſe in that province.

The continually decreaſing ſtate of the population in *Java*, which, from the year 1738, to the preſent time (1777), has diminiſhed more than one half, may, in my opinion, be attributed to the natural operation of this abject ſtate of depreſſion

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and ſervitude, in which the common people of *Java* live, as well as to the ravages of a war of nearly twenty-five years, to which it has been the cuſtom ſolely to aſcribe it; though this war, and the various civil commotions which have happened beſides, have, undoubtedly, greatly contributed to this conſiderable waſte of the human ſpecies.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the Javaneſe.—Their Indolence, not merely the Reſult of Climate, but alſo of the arbitrary Government.—Proved by, and contraſted with, the Induſtry of the Chineſe here.—Food of the Javaneſe.—Their Dwellings.—Houſehold Conveniences.—Uſual Period of Life.—Peculiar Diſeaſe.—Religion.—Moſques.—Account of a famous Mauſoleum near CHERIBON.*—Cuſtoms of the Javaneſe.—Laws reſpecting Inheritance.—Their Appearance, Dreſs, &c.*

THE Javaneſe are ſaid to be of an indolent diſpoſition, and that much pains muſt be taken to excite them to the performance of any labour. This is, in general, true of all the nations who inhabit the torrid zone, and who live under deſpotic governments, by which they are deprived of their property, in an arbitrary manner. But would not this vice, which is repreſented as a national blemiſh in the character of the Javaneſe, be, in a great meaſure, amended—would it not

not be removed, if arrangements were made, that to theſe miſerable people might be left the property and uncontrouled diſpoſition of only that portion of the fruits of their labour, which might remain, after they have furniſhed to the Company the quantities and qualities required at their hands. Aſſuredly, I flatter myſelf, that the beſt effects would reſult herefrom. The inhabitants of *Java* poſſeſs, in common with all the reſt of mankind, a natural and innate deſire of having the free command and diſpoſal of their own property; and, like others, they would, to obtain this, ſubmit to heavy labour, and be more induſtrious, in proportion as they had the more certain proſpect of earning a property, and of ſecurity in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of it.

But now, deprived of the moſt diſtant proſpect, and not encouraged by any hope of bettering their ſituation, they ſit down ſullenly contented, as it were, with the little that is left to them, by their deſpotic and avaricious maſters; who, by this unwiſe, as well as unfeeling, conduct, extinguiſh every ſpark of induſtry, and plunge

their ſubjects into the gloom of hopeleſs inactivity.

The climate, it is alleged, influences upon their diſpoſition, and compels them to a life of indolence. But does not the fallacy of this aſſertion appear in the Chineſe who reſide here? Theſe inhabit the ſame iſland, open their variegated ſhops next to the dwelling of the Javaneſe, and till with laborious induſtry the neglected ſoil around the wretched habitation of the native. In diligence, perſeverance, and manual labour, they ſurpaſs many of the induſtrious claſſes of the community in Europe. But they are comparatively unſhackled, and are free maſters of what they can earn by trade, or procure by agriculture, beyond the pecuniary or other aſſeſſments levied upon them by the government. This encourages them readily to undertake the moſt laborious occupations, and diligently to perſevere in them, while they feel a rational hope of obtaining, in proper time, the reward due to their exertions.

The Javaneſe, therefore, poſſeſſing nearly no certain property, are ſatisfied with little.

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The uſual food of thoſe who inhabit the level country, is rice, with a little fiſh; but thoſe who dwell in the high land, and in the mountains, and who plant little or no rice, make uſe of a certain root, called *tallas*, which the earth affords them, and ſome ſalt, which they make out of the aſhes of wood.

Their dwellings are little huts, generally conſtructed of bamboos, plaiſtered with mud, and covered with *atap*, or other ſimilar leaves.

The conveniencies of houſhold furniture are unknown to them. The whole of the apparatus to be ſeen in their wretched hovels conſiſts of a kind of bedſtead, two or three feet from the ground, made of bamboos, one or two pots to boil their victuals in, a hollow block to pound their rice in, and a few cocoanutſhells for drinking veſſels.

Generally ſpeaking, their period of life does not much exceed half a century; and few of them are found to attain to the age of threeſcore.

They are ſubject to a ſort of ulcers, which is a diſeaſe peculiar to the iſland, and to its

inhabitants, and which has thence received the denomination of the Java pox, from Europeans. It is a ſort of lues, but of a leſs malignant nature.

Their religion is that of MAMOMED; yet it is accompanied by many ſuperſtitious opinions and obſervances, retained from the religion of their idolatrous anceſtors. In the interior parts they have no abſtract ideas of religion, and can, indeed, form none, but ſuch as ariſe immediately from the groſs obſervation of their ſenſes. The mahomedan religion was introduced into *Java* by the Arabians *.

* In the year 1406, CHEIK IBN MOLANA, otherwiſe called IBN ISRAEL, an Arabian, who had contributed to the propagation of the mahomedan faith, at *Acheen*, *Johor*, and other places in the eaſt, came to *Java*, and took up his abode near the place where afterwards the city of *Cheribon* was built: the Javaneſe mahomedans look upon him as the founder of their religion in the iſland; but it appears from VALENTYN, that the kings of *Demak* and *Padjang* had been converted to mahomedaniſm, before the arrival of CHEIK IBN MOLANA, to whom the king of *Demak* gave his daughter in marriage, and with her, as a portion, the country of *Cheribon*: the city of that name was built about the ſame time, and CHEIK IBN MOLANA became both a powerful ſovereign, and a venerated apoſtle of Iſlamiſm: both the kings of *Bantam*, and the princes of *Cheribon*, derive their origin from him, and mahomedans, from all parts of *Java*, perform pilgrimages to his tomb, as to that of one of their greateſt ſaints. *T.*

Their

Their moſques, or places of prayer, are diſperſed all over the country. They are moſtly built of wood, and have neither exterior appearance, nor interior ornament, to recommend them to the curioſity of ſtrangers. Near *Cheribon*, however, I underſtood that a very handſome moſque was erected near the grave of one of their ſaints *.

They

* The tomb, or mauſoleum, of CHEIK IBN MOLANA, near *Cheribon*, with the moſque belonging to it, is deſerving of particular deſcription. It may rank among the moſt curious and magnificent antiquities, not only of *Java*, but of the eaſt. It is called by excellence, *aſtana*, or the palace of the *ſoſoehoenan goenong djati* (monarch of the mountain of djati-trees). It is a vaſt ſemicircular ſpace, or amphitheatre, ſeemingly cut out of a rock, the mountain of djati-trees, and divided into five different areas, or courts, each riſing above the other, and communicating with ſteps. The front is guarded by a row of palliſadoes; beyond theſe there is a wall of about five feet high, faced with little white and painted Chineſe tiles, in the middle of which, ſeven ſteps lead up to the firſt court, which is the largeſt and broadeſt of the five, being one hundred feet in front; on the wall are ranged nine ſuperb, and inconceivably large, china vaſes, with flowers, and two large trees grow on the left ſide of this area. Another wall, exactly ſimilar to the firſt, divides this from the ſecond court; at the foot of this wall ſtand, on the right hand, ſeven, and on the left hand ſix, large and beautiful china vaſes, with flowers; the aſcent to the ſecond court is by five ſteps; and upon the wall are placed, on each ſide, four ſimilar large china vaſes, and eight trees

They do not bury their dead in coffins, as the Europeans or their Chineſe neighbours

are planted in this court, ſo diſpoſed that each vaſe ſtands between two trees, except on the left ſide, where the irregularity is obſervable of two trees ſtanding together; in this court, there are two handſome Javaneſe houſes, intended for the reception of the princes, or great men, who may come upon a pilgrimage to this ſacred place: four china vaſes, with flowers, are alſo placed in the upper part of this court, at the foot of the third wall. All theſe vaſes are the gifts of ſundry mahomedan princes, the kings of *Bantam*, *Macaſſer*, *Palembang*, and others, who have, at various times, viſited the tomb. A neatly paved path leads quite acroſs the ſecond court, to the entrance of the third, which is through a handſome gate, and up four ſteps; but this court, which is much ſmaller than the other two, and is guarded by a ſimilar wall, has nothing in it. No chriſtians are allowed to go higher than this place, although ſome of the upper officers of the Company are ſaid to have penetrated as far as the fifth and laſt court. There is no wall before the fourth, but merely an aſcent by five ſteps cut in the rock; in this there is a magnificent mooriſh temple, or moſque, with three roofs above each other, all decreaſing in ſize upwards, and the area is planted with trees on each ſide of the moſque. The aſcent from this to the laſt and ſmalleſt of the courts is, probably, likewiſe by ſteps, but they are hidden by the moſque and trees in the fourth: this fartheſt and moſt elevated area, ſeems to be only eight or nine paces broad on each ſide, but it runs conſiderably back, in a ſemicircular ſhape; upon it appears nought but the tomb itſelf of the holy man; this, by reaſon of the great height and diſtance, cannot be accurately deſcribed; it appears to be a handſome

bours do, but they ſimply wrap them in a piece of white linen, and depoſit them in the grave, placing two ſtones upon it, one at the head, and one at the feet. They believe that theſe ſtones are to ſerve for ſeats to the two angels, who, after their death, examine into their conduct, while in this world.

The laws of *Java* determine the right of inheritance as follows: when a man dies, leaving a widow, a child, either ſon or daughter, and a brother, his ſubſtance is divided into eight equal ſhares; the child receives four of them; the widow, one;

handſome and lofty ſtructure, with a large arched gate; and ſome pretend to diſtinguiſh a profuſion of gilding upon it. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the whole is formed in a ſloping direction, and that each court has a conſiderable acclivity before reaching the entrance of the next, which renders the ſcite of the tomb itſelf, very elevated: theſe entrances are all cloſed by little railed gates. Both the tomb, and the buildings appertaining to it, are kept in very indifferent repair, and run to decay from day to day. This deſcription is dated in 1722, and is inſerted in VALENTYN's work, vol. iv. pages 15 and 16; but though, in the lapſe of time, many things may have changed their appearance, yet the grand outlines of this ſtupendous monument muſt remain the ſame, and are well worthy the enquiries and examination of future travellers. *T.*

and the brother, three. If the deceaſed leave two, three, or four widows, then that ſhare which is otherwiſe given to the one widow is divided, in equal portions, among all the claimants of the vidual inheritance, let the part that falls to each be ever ſo ſmall. If the deceaſed have two, three, or more brothers, the ſame is done with reſpect to them, and the three-eighths which would have fallen to the ſhare of one, is divided equally among them all, provided, however, that they be all ſons of the ſame father.

Theſe laws, however, are ſometimes departed from, when circumſtances afford inducements to favour one of the heirs more than the others.

Thus, the high prieſts of the provinces of *Patty* and *Joana*, certified to the reſident of *Joana*, that they had fixed the ſhare of the widow of a man, who had died there, at one-third part of the whole inheritance, and had divided the remaining two-thirds into eight portions, one of which they likewiſe adjudged to the widow, four to the daughter of the deceaſed, and three to his brother; giving as a reaſon for this departure

parture from the uſual mode, that the wife had, by her own diligence and induſtry, gained the greateſt part of the property thus left to be divided, and being therefore the occaſion of the proſperity of the family, ought to be the greateſt ſharer in the diviſion of the eſtate.

The Javaneſe are, in general, well ſhaped, of a light brown colour, with black eyes and hair; their eyes are more ſunk in the head than is generally obſerved in the nations living ſouth of the line; they have flattiſh noſes, and large mouths; they are moſtly thin, yet muſcular; a few corpulent men among them make no exception to this general deſcription. The women, when young, have much ſofter features than the men, but when they grow old imagination can not well conceive more hideous hags.

The dreſs of the men conſiſts of a pair of linen breeches, which ſcarcely reach half way down their thighs, and over this, they wear a ſort of ſhirt, made of blue or black coarſe cotton cloth, which hangs looſe about them, down below the knees. The hair of the head is bound up in a handkerchief, in the form of a turban.

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The dreſs of the women conſiſts of a coarſe chintz cloth, wrapped twice round the body, and faſtened under the breaſts, hanging down to the midleg, or lower; over this they wear a little ſhort jacket, which reaches to the waiſt: they have no covering to the head, but wear their hair bound in a fillet, and faſtened at the back part of the head with large pins: they ſometimes adorn their hair with chaplets of flowers.

Children, both boys and girls, often run about entirely naked, till they are eight or nine years of age.

What I have mentioned with reſpect to dreſs, relates alone to the lower ſort of Javaneſe; the higher orders, and rich people, wear much more coſtly garments.

CHAPTER V.

BATAVIA.—*Its Situation.—Harbour.—Canals.—Walls.—Caſtle.—Houſes, &c.—Inhabitants.—Revenues and Charges, &c.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Mode of Living.—Marriages.—Slaves.—Treatment of them.—Their Paſſion for gaming—Not duly reſtrained.*

BATAVIA lies, according to the beſt obſervations, in the ſouth latitude of 6° 5′, on the northern ſhore of the empire of *Jaccatra*, in the deepeſt part of a bay which is formed by the points of *Ontong*, *Java*, and *Crawang*; from which points, it lies, namely, from the former, about four Dutch miles ſoutheaſt, and from the latter, about five miles ſouthweſt. Ten or twelve ſmall iſlands, at the diſtance of from two to four leagues from the city, ſhelter the bay from N.W. to N. by E. from the ſwell of the ſea; the road is between a quarter and half a league from the city. The ground, upon which the city is built, bears evident marks

of

of having been left, or thrown up, by the ſea; as is the caſe with a great extent of the land ſituated on each ſide, the ſhore of which is almoſt always ſoft mud, for a good way up, and which encreaſes every year. Above, or to the ſouth of the city, towards *Tanabang* and *Weltevreeden*, the ground riſes by degrees, and the ſoil becomes firmer and drier the nearer you approach the mountains, which lie twelve or more Dutch miles inland.

I have before mentioned, that *Batavia* receives the greateſt part of its water by the drain which has been made from the *Sedani*, or river of *Tangerang*; but neither is this, nor the water of the other rivers, which, communicating with the *Mookervaart*, is brought to the city, added to the great river of *Jaccatra*, that runs through the middle of it, altogether nearly ſufficient to give a proper degree of circulation to the inner and outer canals of the city, whereby moſt of them have only one or two feet water in the good monſoon, or dry ſeaſon; and in the croſs-canals, there is no current whatſoever perceptible; and it is very probable, that, if no greater force of backwater

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can be brought to act upon them, many of both the longitudinal and the croſs-canals will, ere long, run perfectly dry.

The form of the city is an oblong ſquare, longitudinally interſected by the great river. Its circumference, including the caſtle, is about twelve hundred roods, or one Dutch mile; the longeſt ſides, which lie in the direction of S. by E. and N. by W. are about three hundred, and the ſhorteſt ſides two hundred, roods in length. Beſides the city-moats, which run entirely round, each diviſion, on either ſide of the river, has two canals, running parallel with the longeſt ſides, and interſected, at right angles, by ſeveral croſs-canals.

The city is ſurrounded by a wall of coral-rock, ſerving as a facing to the rampart behind it, which occupies but a very narrow ſpace of ground in many places. It is defended by twenty or one-and-twenty baſtions, if the greater part of them may be ſo called, as they are moſtly of a ſquare or ſemicircular ſhape, projecting beyond the curtains, which, with the wall itſelf, are built nearly perpendicular, and are in ſo ruinous a condition, as to threaten to fall down every day, for which reaſon no other

cannon

cannon are placed upon them but ſuch as are very light, and intended only to fire general ſalutes.

The caſtle, which formerly lay by the ſeaſide, but which is now, by the continual encreaſe of the mudbanks before it, full one hundred roods from the ſea, ſtands on the eaſt bank of the river that divides the town into two parts; it covers about two hundred roods of ground, and is a regular ſquare fortreſs, with four baſtions, built of rock-ſtone. For theſe regions it might be conſidered as a tolerably ſtrong fortification, were it not full of buildings within-ſide, that muſt obſtruct, if not render impracticable, the defence of it. Beſides this, Governor General VAN IMHOF has rendered it entirely uſeleſs as a citadel, by breaking down the curtain which formerly connected the two baſtions, looking towards the city, in order to make a roomy eſplanade before the government-houſe, and the other buildings in the caſtle; indefenſible, therefore, on that ſide, whoever is in poſſeſſion of the eaſtern part of the city, is equally maſter of the caſtle.

I ſhall not detain my readers with a further deſcription of the city, as I have given ſome particulars

particulars reſpecting it in the account of my former voyage; and many others have publiſhed more ample deſcriptions of it, which are accurate enough to afford a tolerable good idea of the place.

Beſides the public buildings, the following number of houſes, of all deſcriptions, large and ſmall, are found here, viz.

in the city itſelf, ...	2,442 houſes
in the ſouthern ſuburb, ...	559
out of the *Rotterdam* or *Ansjol*-gate, . .	732
out of the *Utrecht*-gate, . . .	760
and in the Chineſe campon, which may be conſidered as a ſuburb, . . .	1,277

ſo that *Batavia* and its ſuburbs, contain, in all, 5,770 houſes. *

The

* We ſuſpect a miſtake in this ſtatement, which ſeems copied, with a difference of 1000 houſes, from VALENTYN's account; which is as follows:

in the city 678 large, 564 ſmall } Dutch houſes
997 Chineſe ditto
203 Dutch ditto, tenanted by Chineſe.—In all . 2,442

and out of the city,

	arrack houſes.	large Dutch ho.	ſmall ditto.	Chineſe ditto.	total.
at the *New*-gate,	6	62	181	309	559
at the *Dieſt*-gate,	1	7	33	236	277
at the *Rotterdam*-gate,	5	120	501	106	732
at the *Utrecht*-gate,	0	27	135	589	751
coach-houſes,					9
	12	216	850	1,240	2,328
in all, without the city,					2,328
total					4,770

and

The number of the inhabitants were, in the year 1768, viz.

European free merchants and women, .	1,652	perſons.
Native chriſtians, ...	4,571	
Slaves, ...	8,866	
all the ſervants of the Company, excluſive of thoſe who are upon the iſlands of *Onruſt*, *Edam*, &c. and the other outpoſts of *Batavia*, ...	4,000	
total in the city and ſuburbs,	19,089	perſons.
It is further calculated that, in the outer town, within the outpoſts of *Anſjol*, *Ankee*, *Noordwyk*, and *Ryſwyk*, as well in their campon as elſewhere, there are Chineſe, . . .	30,000	
native chriſtians, out of the *Anſjol*-gate, .	10,000	
Moors out of the *Utrecht*-gate, ...	1,000	
Javaneſe, diſperſed in eighteen campons, within the outpoſts, ...	30,000	
making altogether the number of .	91,089 *	

Among

and this account appeared to the gentlemen who were there in 1769, in the *Endeavour*, to be greatly exaggerated, eſpecially with reſpect to the number of houſes within the walls. Huysers ſtates the number of houſes in *Batavia* to be 3,500, but does not add whether he includes the ſuburbs. In 1778, there were, in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, ſixty brickkilns, thirty-four tilekilns, eighteen limekilns, ſeven manufactories of earthen ware, twenty arrack diſtilleries, and about ſeventy ſugarmills. *T.*

* From the more particular ſtatements of Huysers, we can form a better idea of the number of inhabitants, and the diverſity of nations, forming the population of this metropolis of the eaſt. He informs us, that, in 1778, the numbered inhabitants

Among the abovementioned Europeans, are likewiſe comprehended the poſterity of Europeans

inhabitants of *Batavia* were as follow, viz. 468 European burghers, 5,582 native chriſtians, 4,873 mardykers, or manumitted ſlaves of all nations, 23,309 Chineſe, 289 Amboyneſe, 278 Bandaneſe, 966 Moors, 254 Gentoos, 1,852 Malays, 324 Boutonners, 1,983 Macaſſers, 3,707 Bougineſe, 104 Timoreſe, 189 Mandhareſe, eighty-five Sumbauwers, 13,073 Baliërs, 33,408 Javans, and 20,072 ſlaves; making, in all, 110,816, excluſive of women and children, and of the Company's ſervants. The Company's eſtabliſhment of *Batavia* conſiſted in 1776-1787 of 613 perſons in civil, and thirty-five in eccleſiaſtical, employments, ninety-nine ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 185 belonging to the artillery, 875 ſeamen and marines, 1,571 ſoldiers, and 903 mechanics; in all, 4,221 Europeans, beſides 703 natives in their ſervice. The important revenues ariſing from the import and export duties, &c. and the valuable productions which the country around it affords, might induce the ſuppoſition, that *Batavia*, or rather the colony of *Jaccatra*, for that is the account in the books of the Company, to which all that relates to *Batavia* is carried, were adequate to its own ſupport; yet this is far from being the caſe. *Batavia* is the metropolis of the Dutch Indian poſſeſſions; it is the ſeat of their government; a large garriſon is conſtantly maintained in it; moſt of the Company's ſhips touch here, both outward and homeward-bound; their cargoes are landed and ſhipped; all recruits are received, maintained, and paid here; in ſhort, almoſt all the charges of the marine and military eſtabliſhment of the Company, are carried to the account of *Batavia*; and it cannot, therefore, be but that a conſiderable balance muſt appear every year againſt it. The famous Mossel, it is true, in his Memorial of Economy, maintains, that *Batavia* might be rendered a ſource

Europeans born here, and of theſe, the moſt conſiderable number are women *.

Both the free merchants, or burghers, and the Company's ſervants, who are natives of Europe, are compoſed of all the different nations who inhabit that quarter of the globe. The feweſt, in number, are Dutch; and the moſt, Germans.

of great revenue to the Company, even after defraying all theſe charges. Taking, as a baſis, the books of the year 1752, he formed a calculatory ſtatement, making the profits and revenues of *Batavia* amount to *f.*3,300,000, and the charges to *f.*2,800,000 per annum, leaving a yearly ſurplus of *f.*500,000 (about 45,454*l.* ſterling). But the books have not been cloſed ſo favourably ſince his time: in 1767, indeed, a favourable balance appeared of *f.*233,330 (about 21,212*l.*); but in the peaceful year 1779, the collective receipts amounted to *f.*1,820,327, and the charges to *f.*2,384,930, or *f.*564,603 (about 51,327*l.*), more than the receipts, which is vaſtly different from the calculations of MOSSEL. *T.*

* There are not many women at *Batavia* that were born in Europe, but the white women, who are by no means ſcarce, are deſcendents from European parents, of the third or fourth generation, the gleanings of many families who have ſucceſſively become extinct, in the male line; for it is certain, that, whatever be the cauſe, this climate is not ſo fatal to the ladies, as to the other ſex. The female Europeans, at *Batavia*, ſeldom expoſe themſelves to the heat of the ſun, make frequent uſe of the cold bath, and live more temperately than the men, which may be the reaſons of their ſuffering leſs from the inſalubrity of the climate. *T.*

The

The various opinions and habits which have been imbibed, by the different modes of education, and manners of life, of ſo many individuals, from ſo many different countries, are here all obliterated, or blended into the ſingle paſſion of amaſſing riches, which ſeems to be "their being's end and aim"; and to attain this object, they leave no means untried that lie in their power. With whatever ideas of virtue or honeſty, they may ſtep on ſhore, they can ſcarcely be ſaid to have paſſed the threſhold of their firſt abode, before thoſe unſuitable notions are diſmiſſed from their minds*: there are very few who reſiſt the temptations that aſſail them, and who do not deviate from the paths of integrity. And yet there are very few who, although they have ſacrificed every conſideration, for the ſake of the object of their unwearied purſuit, attained the wiſhed-for goal, and acquire ſufficient wealth, to ſatisfy their deſire of riches; diſ-

* OVINGTON, a traveller of the laſt century, relates as a common proverbial ſaying in his time, that, "thoſe who "ſail from Europe to India, leave their conſciences on this "ſide of the *Cape*; and in returning thence to Europe, they "leave their conſciences on the other ſide of the *Cape*." So that, except in doubling the *Cape*, an Eaſt-Indian was not ſuppoſed to have any conſcience at all. *T.*

appointed, therefore, in their expectations, diſcontented with their ſituation, and diſſatiſfied with themſelves, they fall into a ſtate of melancholy and dejection, which, added to the influence of a noxious climate upon their health, and the want of their cuſtomary viands, exhauſts their animal ſpirits, and renders them a prey to the death that alone extinguiſhes their boundleſs luſt of wealth.

Moſt of the people who live here, and even many rich ones, who, it might be ſuppoſed, had attained the ſummit of their wiſhes, have ſomething in their countenances expreſſive of diſcontent and dejection, and which ſeems a certain ſign, that all is not right within. The climate, may, undoubtedly, contribute much to this appearance; the animal ſpirits do not flow in that free circulation, nor do the powers of the mind poſſeſs that ſtrength and elaſticity, which animate the human frame, and give energy to the exertions of the ſoul, in more temperate climes. I have experienced this myſelf; and I have found that I did not here poſſeſs that flow of ſpirits, and chearfulneſs of diſpoſition, which I was ſeldom without in other countries. This is not all; for, after a ſhort reſidence in this

debilitating

debilitating atmoſphere, a ſtate of languor, and love of inactivity, is ſoon ſeen to overcome all the active powers of the mind, and, occaſioning a total neglect of exerciſe, ruins the conſtitution, and ſuperinduces an abſolute repugnance to every kind of occupation. The only reſource for thoſe who are in this ſtate of liſtleſſneſs, approaching to torpidity, is, to ſeek for ſome relief by company, and to endeavour to kill the heavy hours, as they paſs, in the moſt frivolous manner: ſmoaking of tobacco, a little unintereſting and uſeleſs converſation, drinking, and card-playing, form the ſum of their amuſements; and having, in this manner, ſpent the day and part of the night, they riſe the next morning, utterly at a loſs how to paſs the many tedious hours of the day they enter upon; and devoid of all inclination for reading, either for amuſement or inſtruction, they are compelled to go the ſame dull round, and are only ſolicitous to make choice of ſuch ways of killing time, as interfere the leaſt with their beloved ſtate of motionleſs repoſe.

That happy ſocial intercourſe, tempered by friendſhip, and ſoftened by love, which is the reſult of a rational nuptial connection, is

little ſeen or known here. Moſt marriages are made with the ſordid views of obtaining riches, or ſecuring preferment; and the few matrimonial engagements, that are entered into on account of perſonal qualifications, afford inſtances of alienation in a very ſhort time after the hymenial knot has been tied: this is greatly cauſed by the erroneous education which parents here give to their children, but more eſpecially to their daughters. I have, in the account of my former voyage, enlarged on this ſubject, and likewiſe reſpecting the manner of living, diſpoſition, dreſs, &c. of the Europeans of *Batavia*, both men and women, and it is therefore ſuperfluous for me to ſay more, on thoſe points, in this place.

There is another circumſtance, which does not a little contribute to render the domeſtic lives of the inhabitants of *Batavia* diſagreeable, or unhappy; this is the ſervice of ſlaves; which, as no European ſervants can be procured, or are allowed to be kept, has become a neceſſary evil. Every year full three thouſand of both ſexes are brought to *Batavia*, as well from the coaſt of *Malabar*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, and other parts, as from *Celebes*;

Celebes; from which laſt place, however, the greateſt number are imported. A duty of twelve rixdollars * per head, is paid upon all ſlaves who enter *Batavia* for the firſt time, excepting upon thoſe, who are brought by the commanders of veſſels, from the places where the ſlaves come from, on their own account; and which, with reſpect to the ſhips coming from *Celebes* or *Macaſſer*, is fixed to the number of twelve ſlaves, who are permitted to be brought at one time, without paying any duty upon them.

They are employed in every kind of domeſtic and menial ſervice, in which they are inſtructed by thoſe who have been longer in the family, or have had opportunities of improvement; and they become, in time, good cooks, taylors, coachmen, &c. and do not yield, in their acquired qualifications, to the beſt of European ſervants. They experience, in general, better uſage, at the hands of their maſters, than what the negro ſlaves in the Weſt-Indies meet with from the coloniſts; although inſtances ſometimes likewiſe occur here, of barbarity and inhumanity in the

* About forty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling. *T.*

treatment of them: but theſe are not frequent, and thoſe who are guilty of ſuch conduct, ſeldom fail of meeting their due reward, and are generally murdered, or poiſoned, by their exaſperated ſlaves; or elſe the ſlaves run away from their maſters, who thereby loſe a valuable property, and are puniſhed in their purſes. When the ſlaves are well treated, they poſſeſs fidelity enough, and confidence may be repoſed in them, provided they do not carry their paſſion for gaming, to which they are exceedingly addicted, to exceſs; for if they have once abandoned themſelves to this infatuating vice, they not only play till they loſe all they may have of their own, but likewiſe all they can lay their hands on belonging to their maſters, continually flattering themſelves with the idle hope of retrieving their former loſſes by a lucky throw of the dice; in which they are, generally, miſerably deceived; for the Chineſe, who are here accuſtomed to keep gaming-houſes, and among other games of hazard, one denominated top-tables, are too great adepts in the art, and much too cunning for the poor ſlaves, to allow of their regaining what they may have loſt.

It

It cannot eaſily be conceived why the ſupreme government do not put a ſtop to theſe baneful proceedings, by prohibiting, or deſtroying, thoſe dangerous haunts of gameſters and ſharpers, which are the cauſes of the ſeduction and ruin of the largeſt part of the ſlaves in the city; for it is the officers of juſtice of the municipal government, that fare the beſt by them, receiving from the keepers of the gaming-houſes, a monthly conſideration for their protection and connivance *; whence it happens, that theſe officers will never receive, or attend, to any complaints, which may be made to them of the ſeduction of the ſlaves, on the part of their owners: even the confeſſion of the ſlave himſelf, who has loſt all his own, and his maſter's property that he could get at, and the teſtimony of the maſter, who has found his ſlave at the gaming-table, do not ſuffice to procure the conviction or puniſhment of the Chineſe, if the latter merely

* The officers, who have the controul over the Chineſe gaming-houſes, are required to pay to the Company, as a conſideration for the profits they make by them, a monthly contribution of 3,100 rixdollars, or upwards of £.8000 ſterling per annum. T.

perſiſts

perſiſts in ſwearing that he never ſaw the ſlave in his houſe: "I can do nothing in the buſineſs; the Chineſe, you hear, denies it," is the only anſwer, and the only ſatisfaction, that can, in ſuch caſes, be obtained from the executor of the law, as I have myſelf experienced.

What, however, is the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance attending a reſidence at *Batavia*, is the inſalubrity of the climate, and the great degree of mortality which prevails there, eſpecially among tranſient viſitors, or people that firſt arrive; this is apparent to ſuch a degree, that the Engliſh, who circumnavigated the globe (1768-1770), and had experienced almoſt every viciſſitude of climate, declared that *Batavia* was not only the moſt unhealthy place they had ſeen, but that this circumſtance was a ſufficient defence or preſervative againſt any hoſtile attempts, as the troops of no nation would be able to withſtand, nor would any people in their ſenſes, without abſolute neceſſity, venture to encounter this peſtilential atmoſphere.

CHAPTER VI.

Cauſes of the Unhealthineſs of BATAVIA.—*Mud-banks thrown up by the Sea.—Moraſſes.—Familiarity of the Inhabitants with Diſeaſe and Death.—Want of Circulation in the Canals.—Deſerted and untenanted Houſes.—Depreciation in the Value of Houſes.—Other Cauſes, originating in Europe, applied to explain the great Mortality at* BATAVIA.—*Periods when the Number of Deaths ſucceſſively encreaſed.—Regiſter of the Deaths in the Hoſpitals, &c.—Comparative and calculatory Statement reſpecting the Number of Men loſt by the Company every Year.*

SOUND reaſon, and the united experience of ages, have incontrovertibly demonſtrated, that low, ſwampy land, ſuch as has been abandoned, or thrown up, by the waves of the ſea, and countries overgrown with trees and underwood, are all extremely unhealthy, and frequently fatal, to the greateſt proportion of their inhabitants. And the inſalubrity of the air has been found to augment, or decreaſe, in proportion as the habitations of mankind have been placed nearer to, or farther

farther from, moraſſes, or ſtagnant waters, or woods, which, by their proximity, prevent the noxious exhalations from being diſſipated by a free circulation of air.

All theſe cauſes of diſeaſe and death combine, in a greater or leſs degree, their baneful influence, to render *Batavia* one of the moſt unwholeſome ſpots upon the face of the globe.

They make their appearance throughout all the neighbouring foreland; and from the point of *Ontong Java*, on one ſide, to two leagues beyond *Ansjol*, on the other, where the firm ſandy beach commences, a diſmal ſucceſſion of ſtinking mudbanks, filthy bogs, and ſtagnant pools, announce to more ſenſes than one, the poiſonous nature of this dreadful climate.

Along this ſhore, the ſea throws up all manner of filth, ſlime, molluſca, dead fiſh, mud, and weeds, which, putrifying with the utmoſt rapidity, by the extreme degree of heat, load and infect the air with their offenſive miaſmata. This aggregation of mud and putrifaction, receives a more peculiar encreaſe during the bad or weſt monſoon, than at another time; and the conſtant prolongation

longation of the pierheads of the river, contributes alſo a ſhare towards this accretion. The mudbanks, thus recently thrown up, are ſoon covered with ſuch buſhes and ſhrubs as are proper to moraſſes, whereby freſh ſupplies of mud and filth are caught and retained, and the accretion and noxious exhalations are augmented and ſtrengthened, while the northweſt winds convey the whole of the putrid effluvia to the city.

Near *Batavia* are likewiſe found ſeveral very low tracts, eſpecially to the weſt of the city, which, although they lie far enough from the ſea, not to be ſubject to be inundated by it, yet, by the continual and heavy rains which fall in that ſeaſon of the year, often ſtand under water; and even include in their circuit, ſwamps covered with high trees, which augment the corruption of the atmoſphere, by their fouleſt vapours *.

All

* It is not ſtrange that the inhabitants of ſuch a country ſhould be familiar with diſeaſe and death. Preventive medicines are taken almoſt as regularly as food, and every body expects the returns of ſickneſs, as we do the ſeaſons of the year. In the words of a late intelligent and poliſhed traveller, "the European ſettlers at *Batavia* commonly appear wan, "weak, and languid; as if labouring with the 'diſeaſe of "death.' Their place of reſidence, indeed, is ſituated "in

All this would, alone, be ſufficient to render *Batavia* a moſt unwholeſome place of abode, and

" in the midſt of ſwamps and ſtagnated pools, whence they " are every morning ſaluted with 'a congregation of foul and " peſtilential vapours,' whenever the ſea-breeze ſets in, and " blows over this moraſs. The meridian ſun raiſes from the " ſhallow and muddy canals, with which the town is inter- " ſected, deleterious miaſmata into the air; and the trees, " with which the quays and ſtreets are crouded, emit noxious " exhalations in the night. There are few examples of " ſtrangers remaining in *Batavia* long, without being at- " tacked by fever, which is the general denomination, in " that place, for illneſs of every kind. The diſorder, at firſt, " is commonly a tertian ague, which, after two or three pa- " roxyſms, becomes a double tertian, and then a continued " remittent, that frequently carries off the patient in a ſhort " time. The Peruvian bark is ſeldom preſcribed in any " ſtage of the diſeaſe; or is given in ſuch ſmall quantities " to be productive of little benefit. The chief, or rather the " ſole, medicine adminiſtered, is a ſolution of camphor in " ſpirit of wine. The practitioners of phyſic, at *Batavia*, " where the preſence of the moſt ſkilful certainly is neceſſary, " not having had the advantages of a medical education, are " ſatisfied, as to theory, with conſidering the nature of the " fever as being to rot and corrupt the human frame; and, " as to practice, that camphor being the moſt powerful anti- " ſeptic known, it is proper to truſt to it, by a rule more " ſimple even than MOLIERE's, and to exhibit it in every " variety and period of the complaint. The intermittent " fever does not, however, always prove fatal; but conti- " nues, in ſome inſtances, even for many years; and the pa- " tient becomes ſo familiarized to it, as ſcarcely to think it a " diſeaſe, attending, in the intervals of its attack, to his " affairs

and the mortality greater here, than at any other ſpot of the Company's poſſeſſions; but to theſe, more than adequate cauſes, which occur in the environs and ſituation of the city, may be added another no leſs prejudicial, namely, the preſent interior ſtate of the town itſelf, whereby the deſtructive unhealthineſs of the climate is carried to the very pinnacle of corruption.

" affairs, and mixing in ſociety. A gentleman in that predicament, converſing upon the nature of the climate, obſerved, that, in fact, it was fatal to vaſt numbers of Europeans who came to ſettle there; that he loſt many of his friends every year; but, for his part, he enjoyed excellent health. Soon after, he called for a napkin to wipe his forehead, adding, that this was his fever-day; he had a ſhocking fit that morning, and ſtill continued to perſpire profuſely. Upon being reminded of his late aſſertion of being always healthy, he replied, he was ſo, with exception of thoſe fits, which did not prevent him from being generally very well; that he was conſcious they would deſtroy him by degrees, were he to remain in the country long, but that he hoped his affairs would enable him to leave it before that event was likely to take place. It is ſuppoſed, that of the Europeans of all claſſes, who come to ſettle in *Batavia*, not always half the number ſurvive the year. The place reſembles, in that reſpect, a field of battle, or a town beſieged. The frequency of deaths renders familiar the mention of them, and little ſigns are ſhewn of emotion and ſurpriſe, on hearing that the companion of yeſterday is to-day no more." When an acquaintance is ſaid to be dead, the common reply is, " Well, he owed me nothing," or " I muſt get my money of his executors." *T.*

Two

Two principal cauſes are to be met with within the city, and a great part of its inſalubrity is, in my opinion, to be aſcribed to them, namely, the little circulation of water in the canals which interſect it, and the diminution of the number of its inhabitants. The former is occaſioned by the river, which formerly conveyed moſt of its water to the city, being now greatly weakened by the drain, which has been dug, called the *Slokkaan*, which receives its water from the high land, and carries it away from the city, ſo that many of the canals run almoſt dry, in the good monſoon *. The latter derives its origin

* The ſtagnant canals, in the dry ſeaſon, exhale an intolerable ſtench, and the trees, planted along them, impede the courſe of the air, by which, in ſome degree, the putrid effluvia would be diſſipated. In the wet ſeaſon the inconvenience is equal, for then theſe reſervoirs of corrupted water overflow their banks in the lower part of the town, and fill the lower ſtories of the houſes, where they leave behind them an inconceivable quantity of ſlime and filth: yet theſe canals are ſometimes cleaned; but the cleaning of them is ſo managed, as to become as great a nuiſance as the foulneſs of the water; for the black mud that is taken from the bottom is ſuffered to lie upon the banks, that is, in the middle of the ſtreet, till it has acquired a ſufficient degree of hardneſs to be made the lading of a boat, and carried away. As this mud conſiſts chiefly of human ordure, which is regularly thrown into the canals

origin from the decay of trade, which was formerly ſo flouriſhing in this place, that there uſed to be ſcarcely a poſſibility of procuring a houſe within the walls of the city; at preſent, on the contrary, thoſe houſes in which anciently the greateſt merchants dwelt, their countinghouſes, where they carried on their buſineſs, and the warehouſes, which received their immenſe ſtocks of merchandize, are now either deſerted and untenanted, or changed into ſtables, or coach-houſes. The ruined ſquare, the *Lepel*, or Spoon-ſtreet, and other parts of the lower town, afford the moſt viſible teſtimony of this decay.

The buildings remaining thus uninhabited, and uncleanſed, ſpeedily contract, in this low, warm, and marſhy place, an infectious and foul air, and contaminate even the houſes that are adjoining; and that this both cauſes

canals every morning, there ſcarcely being a neceſſary-houſe in the whole town, it poiſons the air, while it is drying, to a conſiderable extent. Even the running ſtreams become nuiſances in their turn, by the negligence of the people; for every now and then a dead hog, or a dead horſe, is ſtranded upon the ſhallow parts, and it being the buſineſs of no particular perſon to remove the nuiſance, it is negligently left to time and accident. *T.*

and augments the unhealthineſs of the place, is evident from the circumſtance, that the mortality is greater in the lower town, or on the north ſide, than in the other parts of the city that are more fully inhabited.

The caſtle, which is now eſteemed the moſt unhealthy part of the whole place, uſed, thirty and more years ago, not to be more ſo than any other ſpot around it; but at that time the buildings in it, which are appropriated for the governor general, and for the firſt ſervants of the Company, were inhabited by them; theſe ſtand at preſent empty, are neglected, choaked with dirt, and running to decay: the poor office-clerks, who have not the means of procuring another abode, and are compelled, therefore, to dwell in thoſe buildings erected for them in the caſtle, are the victims. The military, who are, for the moſt part, quartered in the barracks built for them, and the people belonging to the marine department, who reſide upon, or near, the admiralty-wharf, which is oppoſite to the caſtle, are no leſs expoſed.

Moſt people, not ſatisfied with having left the lower town, in order to go and live higher

higher up, have abandoned the city altogether, and reſide in gardens without the walls *, and as far removed from the town, as their circumſtances, or the employments which they have to attend to in the city, will allow them; letting their houſes in the city ſtand empty, or occupying them only for a ſhort time of the year, and no longer than is abſolutely neceſſary. This goes on encreaſing from year to year, and will probably, in the lapſe of time, produce the total abandonment and ruin of *Batavia*. The amazing depreciation in the value of houſes, is but too clear a proof of this aſſertion: ſuch as twenty-five or thirty years ago, ſold

* The Dutch, who are ſo fond of gardens in Holland, have transferred that taſte, where it can, certainly, be cultivated with more ſucceſs, and indulge it to a great extent, at their houſes a little way from *Batavia*; but ſtill within that fenny diſtrict, concerning which, an intelligent gentleman on the ſpot uſed the ſtrong expreſſion, that the air was peſtilential, and the water poiſonous. Yet the country is every where ſo verdant, gay, and fertile; it is interſperſed with ſuch magnificent houſes, gardens, avenues, canals, and drawbridges; and is ſo formed in every reſpect to pleaſe the eye, could health be preſerved in it, that a youth coming juſt from ſea, and enraptured with the beauty of every object he ſaw around him, but mindful of the danger there to life, could not help exclaiming, "What an excellent habitation it would be for "immortals!" *T.*

for ſixteen hundred, or two thouſand rixdollars, would not, when I was laſt there, fetch, at moſt, one quarter of that ſum.

I have here pointed out the chief cauſes of the greater inſalubrity of *Batavia*, than any other place under the ſame parallels. But yet I think it wrong to aſcribe ſolely to theſe the amazing mortality among the Europeans who come hither. There are other cauſes, which are independent of *Batavia* and its climate, which contribute greatly to this mortality. Theſe I ſhould chiefly conſider as originating in Europe, ſince it is certain, that the ſupplies of men arriving in the Indies from Europe, have not, for ſeveral years paſt, been found to bring with them thoſe healthy conſtitutions, which they did half a century ago. The continual encreaſing dearneſs of proviſions in Europe, ſince the year 1740, has, as is naturally the caſe, moſt affected the loweſt claſſes of ſociety, who have, in conſequence, been obliged to take up with coarſer and leſs nouriſhing food, which muſt undeniably have a proportionate prejudicial effect upon their animal frame. Theſe, for no other ſort of people, a very few excepted, take ſervice with the Company,

Company, when conveyed on board of the ſhips, deteriorate their conſtitutions, which have been already fundamentally ſhaken, by the hardſhips which accompany a ſea life, the cloſe and narrow places where they are lodged, and the melancholy with which moſt of them are attacked, on account of leaving their native country.

Arriving thus at *Batavia*, the moſt unwholeſome ſpot that could be pitched on, with a broken conſtitution, which has received new ſhocks from their long voyage, it can ſcarcely be expected, when to this is added, a ſcanty and inſipid diet, to which they are unaccuſtomed, conſiſting of rice and ſome dried fiſh, together with the extreme plenty and cheapneſs of fruit, and the eaſy acceſs to ſtrong liquors, that they ſhould long ſurvive the fatal moment when they firſt ſet foot on this dangerous ſhore. This is ſo far as it regards thoſe who have engaged as ſoldiers.

But it is not only from the military, that the muſter-rolls of death are ſwelled: the ſame mortality likewiſe takes place among the ſeafaring part of the Company's ſervants; yet the above is not ſo much, in every re-

ſpect, applicable to thoſe who are really ſeamen, and having from their youth been bred up to the profeſſion, have, in general, ſubſiſted upon better food, and have acquired a more hardy temperament, but, with reſpect to thoſe who are merely nominal ſailors, and who have never before ſtood upon a deck, who conſtitute the greateſt number of the mariners in the employ of the Company, theſe, I ſay, muſt be looked upon as on an equality with the ſoldiers.

Thus, when it is ſaid that the mortality is general, both in the military and marine departments of the Company's eſtabliſhment, it muſt be conſidered, that the greateſt number of the individuals engaged in the ſea-ſervice, conſiſt of ſuch as differ from the military, upon their firſt coming on board, in nothing than in name. Many years ago, a ſufficient number of able ſeamen could be procured, not to be compelled to have recourſe to landſmen for filling up a ſhip's complement; but, ever ſince the year 1740, the many naval wars, the great encreaſe of trade and navigation, particularly in many countries, where formerly theſe purſuits were little attended to, and the conſequent great

and

and continual demands for able ſeamen, both for ſhips of war, and for merchantmen, have ſo conſiderably diminiſhed the ſupply of them, that, in our own country, where there formerly uſed to be a great abundance of mariners, it is now, with great difficulty and expence, that any veſſel can procure a proper number of able hands to navigate her.

Many people, who have never viſited the countries between the tropics, and are too apt to credit the miſrepreſentations of travellers, have been led to believe, that exceſſive heat is the cauſe of the unhealthineſs of *Batavia*; but the healthineſs of many other countries, where the ſame degree of heat prevails, is proof enough of the contrary. At *Surat*, and in *Bengal*, which are eſteemed the moſt ſalubrious parts of India, I have more than once found the thermometer of Fahrenheit riſe above 100° in the months of March and April, while at *Batavia* I have ſeldom ſeen it higher than 90°, and generally below that point; which is a degree of heat that is not unuſual even in our own country: and this is moreover conſiderably mitigated by the refreſhing land and ſea-

breezes, returning alternately at ſtated hours in regular rotation; the ſea-breeze begins about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and blows the ſtrongeſt from two to five o'clock in the afternoon, while at eight or nine o'clock in the evening, the land-wind commences, and continues throughout the night, and till ſeven or eight o'clock in the morning.

The intermediate calms, however, taking place before theſe breezes relieve each other, are not wholeſome. The ſtagnation of the atmoſphere at thoſe times, and eſpecially in the evening, before the land-wind begins to blow, and when the vapours exhaled during the heat of the day hang low over the earth, is hurtful to reſpiration, and the evening-air is, in conſequence, more eſpecially pernicious at *Batavia*. Yet many of the inhabitants are, nevertheleſs, accuſtomed to ſit out of doors in the evening, becauſe the warmth within ſurpaſſes that without.

There may, perhaps, be other cauſes, beſides the various diſadvantageous circumſtances attending the local ſituation and actual ſtate of the city, above adduced, which may give occaſion to the prevailing diſorder

and

and great degree of mortality that have, for theſe many years paſt, been obſerved at *Batavia*, and which are either not yet diſcovered, or cannot be pointed out with ſufficient accuracy of proof; for this is certain, that many of the circumſtances here enumerated, were in exiſtence at thoſe times, when the city was not reckoned a more unhealthy place of abode than any other, ſituated under the ſame climate.

An unuſual degree of mortality firſt made its appearance in the year 1733, and in that, and the five following years, the deaths amounted annually to more than two thouſand among the free merchants, or burghers, and Company's ſervants, and full fifteen hundred ſlaves beſides.

From 1739 to 1743, the mortality was not quite ſo great; for I find that, in thoſe five years, no more than five thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two of the Company's ſervants, died in the hoſpitals, whereas the number amounted, in the preceding five years, to eight thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſix; but it afterwards encreaſed again, ſo that from 1744 to 1771, the deaths in the hoſpitals alone (into which, by the bye,

bye, no others are admitted than ſuch as are in the Company's ſervice, and of theſe only the common ſoldiers and ſailors, who have not money to provide themſelves with better accommodation, are the only perſons who avail of them) amounted in number, to forty-eight thouſand and thirty-ſix. In the year 1769 alone, there died, both in the hoſpitals and out of them:

2,434	of the Company's ſervants,
164	burghers,
681	native chriſtians,
833	Mahomedans,
1,331	ſlaves, and
1,003	Chineſe.
6,446	together.

And of the latter the number may at leaſt be augmented by one-third, as ſo much may be taken for the deaths that are concealed, in order to avoid payment of the tax impoſed upon funerals; and the numbers mentioned above, are only ſuch as have been declared.

The dead, in the hoſpitals, amounted, from the beginning of July, 1775, to the end

end of July, 1776, to the number of two thouſand five hundred and ninety-five*.

On

* The following is a correct liſt of the numbers that have died in the hoſpitals at *Batavia*, from the year 1714 to 1776, viz.

Year	Dead	Year	Dead	Year	Dead
1714	459	1735	1568	1756	1487
1715	469	1736	1574	1757	1441
1716	453	1737	1993	1758	1638
1717	494	1738	1776	1759	1837
1718	591	1739	998	1760	1317
1719	660	1740	1124	1761	1000
1720	750	1741	1075	1762	1390
1721	614	1742	1082	1763	1750
1722	730	1743	1283	1764	1757
1723	657	1744	1595	1765	1754
1724	769	1745	1604	1766	2039
1725	925	1746	1565	1767	2404
1726	904	1747	1881	1768	1833
1727	676	1748	1261	1769	1742
1728	656	1749	1478	1770	2434
1729	626	1750	2035	1771	2480
1730	671	1751	1969	1772	2066
1731	780	1752	1601	1773	1187
1732	781	1753	1618	1774	1957
1733	1116	1754	1517	1775	2788
1734	1375	1755	2109	1776	2877

It was in 1733, that canals were chiefly begun to be dug around *Batavia*, by which the water was diverted from taking its courſe through the city, and from that time, the number of dead has conſtantly encreaſed. In 1744, a ſecond hoſpital was erected by Governor VAN IMHOFF, and in order to defray

the

On making a compariſon between the number of deaths, and the remaining ſervants of the Company, at *Batavia*, and thoſe at the other ſettlements, it appears, that out of five thouſand four hundred and ninety Europeans, who were preſent at *Batavia*, according to the annual muſter, on the 30th of June, 1768 (of which number, however, one thouſand three hundred and thirty-eight, were patients in the hoſpitals), two thouſand four hundred and thirty-four died in the ſpace of the enſuing twelve months: and that the number of the Company's ſervants, at all the out-ſettlements, was found equally, on the laſt day of June of the ſame year,

the expences, the regulation was introduced in both hoſpitals, that the wages of all the ſick who were admitted into them, ſhould be withheld from them, while they were under cure, and applied to the benefit of the inſtitutions, whence, it is ſaid, many more patients died from the chagrin this regulation cauſed them; and we accordingly ſee that that, and the ſucceeding years, are marked with a greater mortality than before. In 1761, they began to ſtow in the hoſpital, without the city, more ſick people than the two hundred convaleſcents, who were formerly attended there; and the years immediately following, ſhew another period of encreaſe. In 1775 an hoſpital ſhip was laid up in the road, in conſequence of which, as well in that as in the next year, the number of dead was greater than ever. *T.*

according

according to muſter, to amount to fourteen thouſand four hundred and ſeventy Europeans; of whom, one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven died in the year following: whence it appears, that the proportion of the dead to the living, is, at *Batavia*, as twelve to twenty-ſeven, which is almoſt one-half, and at the out-ſettlements, as eleven to one hundred, or ſomething leſs than one-ninth. The Company, therefore, loſe, in general, every year, one ſixth part * of their ſervants. And they experienced a loſs, in the ſame proportion, during the ſame period of twelve months, upon the crews of thirty-ſeven ſhips navigating in India; and of the crews of twenty-ſeven ſhips that ſailed from Europe, in 1768-1769, which altogether amounted, by their muſter-rolls, to five thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one hands, the number of dead was nine hundred and fifty-nine, which is equally very near to one in ſix.

This compariſon may certainly appear

* If out of 5,490 at *Batavia*, there died 2,434
and out of 14,470 at the out-factories . 1,637

then out of 19,960, the whole number . 4,071 died in one year, which is full one-fifth, inſtead of one-ſixth. *T.*

in

in different lights in different years, but not ſo much ſo, but that this calculation may in general be taken for what has, for ſeveral years paſt, been the reſult that has been annually experienced.

Even if no wars occur, by which the number of thoſe in the pay of the Company may be diminiſhed, the extraordinary mortality above ſtated, is alone ſufficient entirely to depopulate, in time, the Company's ſettlements; for, ſuppoſing that all the Company's European ſervants in the Indies, including thoſe in the civil, and in the military departments, together with the crews of thirty-ſeven ſhips employed in the country-trade, each taken at one hundred and ſixty-five men, amount, together, to twenty-ſix thouſand; of theſe, one ſixth part annually die off, is 4,333

And, ſuppoſing that *Batavia* receives an annual reinforcement from Holland, by twenty-ſeven ſhips, each calculated at two hundred and fifty men, of 6,750

from which muſt be deducted, for each ſhip, returning to Europe, and carrying

back,

back, upon an average, one hundred and fifteen men a-piece, for twenty-four ſhips 2,760 (4,334)

Remain at *Batavia* 3,990

343

ſo that the ſupply falls ſhort every year, at leaſt, three hundred and forty-three men *. This is not, however, an inſurmountable annual deficiency; it might be overcome, and the loſs of men would not appear ſo viſible, were the ſupply of people from Europe more regular, and were it but maintained upon the footing which I have ſtated; but how often does it not happen, that, in the room of two hundred and fifty men, as I have ſuppoſed to be brought by each ſhip, ſcarcely two hundred, and even leſs, arrive at *Batavia?* There have even been years,

* From the laſt note, it appears, that this calculation ſhould be formed by taking one-fifth of the landmen, and one-ſixth of the ſeamen, in the Company's Indian ſervice, or, out of about 20,000 landmen, 4,000 dead
and out of about 6,000 ſeamen, 1,000
thus making the yearly loſs by death, about 5000, inſtead of 4,333; and the ſupply being only 3,990, the annual deficiency is about 1000, inſtead of only 343. *T.*

not long ſince, that out of upwards of eight thouſand hands, ſhipped in the ſpace of one twelvemonth, by the outwardbound India-ſhips, not four thouſand have reached *Batavia*, in which years, the Company's Indian ſettlements have accordingly experienced an annual defalcation of three thouſand men. And when to this is ſuperadded the caſualties of war, ſuch as the Company are at preſent engaged in, in the iſland of *Celebes*, and on the coaſt of *Malabar*, together with the difficulty of raiſing the complement of men in Holland, to be able to ſend out the ſhips at their proper time, duly manned, the diſmal aſpect of the Company's preſent ſituation will not require a more convincing proof.

CHAPTER VII.

General Review of the Decline in the Company's Affairs.—Recapitulation of the Receipts and Expenditure of each Settlement.—General Statement, &c. —Reflections on the Decayed State of the Company *.

WERE the proſperity of the Eaſt-India Company only in a ſtate of decline, from the circumſtances we have mentioned, hopes might be entertained of relief and reſtoration. A fortunate chance of war, or a favourable peace in Europe, might afford ſufficient opportunities of engaging men enough

* As this chapter is devoted to a general conſideration of the affairs of the Company, it may not be amiſs to inſert here, a recapitulation of the receipts and expenditure of all the eſtabliſhments of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company; the former, comprizing their territorial revenues, and profits upon the country-trade; and the latter, all the expences of each eſtabliſhment *per ſe*, taken from the books of the year 1779, that is, from the firſt of September, 1778, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779: the order in which the eſtabliſhments are placed, is that in which they are arranged in the books of

enough to ſupply, in a very ample manner, the deficiency of people now laboured under.

But.

the Company, and we have diſtinguiſhed thoſe actually known to be in the hands of the Engliſh by the mark †.

	Charges.	Expenditure.
Jaccatra, including *Batavia*	*f.*1,820,327	*f.*2,384,930
† *Ambeyna*	48,747	201,082
† *Banda*	9,350	146,170
Ternate	114,997	229,406
Macaſſar	63,190	163,137
Timor	13,619	11,712
Banjermaſſing	——	12,091
Palembang	3,922	49,677
Japan	106,802	96,356
† *Malacca*	162,520	113,235
† *Padang*	74,577	53,675
† *Bengal*	385,159	265,517
† *Coromandel*	427,131	452,133
† *Ceylon*	611,704	1,243,038
† *Malabar*	414,977	489,645
† *Surat*	283,207	——
† *Cape of Good Hope*	195,168	505,269
Java's northeaſt coaſt	436,874	281,873
Cheribon	35,761	12,584
Bantam	——	78,262
Landak and *Succadana*	1,764	9,726
Total	*f.*5,209,796	*f.*6,799,518
		5,209,796
leaving an excedent in the charges of		*f.*1,589,722

or

But many other circumſtances concur, if not to render the reſtoration of the Company's affairs

or 144,520*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* ſterling. The Indian poſſeſſions of the Company were not always a charge upon them; in 1689, the balance, drawn in the ſame manner, was on the other ſide, and ſhewed a favourable ſurplus of *f.*937,361. 10. 5 (85,214*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*); and in 1744, an advance appeared of *f.*779,056. (70,823*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*). MOSSEL, to whom we have ſo frequently had occaſion to refer, calculated, in his time (1753), the whole yearly receipts at *f.*8,791,000, and the expenditure of *f.*6,517,500, which would leave a favourable ſurplus of *f.*2,273,500 (about £.206,680 ſterling), and which is amazingly different from the later reſults. The deficiency is ſupplied by drafts from India, upon the direction in Holland; and, together with various other objects, the expences of equipping twenty-five or thirty ſhips annually, the payment of the wages and premiums (ſee page 370, of vol. I.), to the returning crews, the ſalaries of the directors, and expences of the adminiſtration at home, the dividends to the proprietors, &c. form the general debit of the Company, againſt the profits upon the merchandize they diſpoſe of in Europe. Theſe gains have been calculated, upon an average, at from ten to eleven millions of gilders, or about one million ſterling, per annum; and this computation appears to be juſt, from the following ſtatement of the invoice-prices, and net proceeds, of the cargoes received from India, for the ten years, from 1750 to 1759, viz.

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1750	22	*f.*7,372,177	*f.*19,024,209
1751	24	9,630,682	16,670,614
1752	20	7,883,361	23,133,580
1753	22	10,259,866	17,317,037
1754	22	8,859,297	19,840,766

affairs, a matter of impoſſibility, at leaſt, to afford the moſt unfavourable proſpects reſpecting them.

It is not only for a few years paſt, that the decline of this great body has been manifeſt, but from much earlier times: "It "cannot, by any means, be denied," ſays Mr. VAN IMHOF, in his *Conſiderations* of the year 1742, "that the preſent ſtate of the "Eaſt-India Company wears a much more "diſadvantageous aſpect, and is not, by far,

Years.	Ships.	Invoices.	Sales.
1755	22	9,652,485	19,806,077
1756	25	8,421,419	19,890,066
1757	26	8,935,720	14,829,367
1758	22	6,506,717	18,934,386
1759	28	8,437,469	18,817,328

We further, on this ſubject, refer the curious reader to the ſtatements contained in the appendix: viz. No. IV. An account of the returns made to Holland, from the Indies, from the time they firſt traded thither, down to the year 1721. V. An account of the ſhips ſent out, their crews, the ſpecie they carried, the ſhips returned, the proceeds of the ſales, and the dividends on the ſtock, from 1720 to 1729. VI. A ſtatement of the capital ſtock of the Company, and of the reſpective proportions in which each of the ſix chambers were originally intereſted in it. VII. An account of the dividends from 1605 to 1780, and of the revolutions in their value, from 1723 to 1780; and, VIII. A ſtatement of the various articles, and quantities of each, ſold at the Dutch Eaſt-India ſales from 1775 to 1779. *T.*

"in

" in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as in former " times". Mr. MOSSEL writes to the ſame effect, in the year 1752; and very little reflection is required, at preſent, to diſcover that, in the year 1777, the ſituation of the Company has, in the laſt five-and-twenty years, become much worſe; and that their affairs threaten a diſaſtrous termination at no very diſtant period, if more effectual meaſures of redreſs are not ſuggeſted, and reſorted to, than thoſe which have hitherto been employed.

The common courſe of events, in this world, teaches us, both from ancient and from modern hiſtory, that there have been, or are, no empires, ſtates, republics, or public bodies, but what have all, after reaching the ſummit of their greatneſs, declined conſiderably, though the one more than the other, in power and conſideration, without that the means which have been reſorted to, have ever had the wiſhed-for effect, of wholly preventing their ruin; and it has been fortunate, when, acting as palliatives, they have ſerved to procraſtinate the fall. Theſe viciſſitudes muſt be aſcribed to the inſcrutable deſigns of Providence; and

it ſhould ſeem, that, by them, the Ruler of the univerſe hath, for the accompliſhment of his allwiſe purpoſes, intended to manifeſt to mankind the utter inſtability of every thing in this ſublunary world.

The primary cauſes, which ſap the foundations of a ſtate or ſociety, whilſt in its moſt flouriſhing vigour, and pave the way for its decline and fall, are very ſeldom known. The ſeemingly unimportant commencements of ruin, are nearly undiſcernible, and they do not appear, till long afterwards, and when the evil is ſo deeply rooted, and has raiſed itſelf to a height viſible to all, while it is likewiſe, in general, too late to remedy it; or if ſome appearances of the latent ſource of ruin be diſcovered, the fatal conſequences that may ariſe from it, are ſeldom duly appreciated. In this, the body politic reſembles the animal frame, and is like a man in the bloom of life, who, enjoying an uninterrupted ſtate of health, poſſeſſed of a firm and unſhaken conſtitution, pays no regard to the firſt invidious attacks of a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he preſumes will eaſily be overcome by the natural ſtrength of his conſtitution; till, too late, he finds, that, with unmarked,

unmarked, but hideous ſtrides, the direful diſeaſe has advanced beyond the graſp of medicine, and at length bids bold defiance to every attempt of nature, or of art, to check its fatal progreſs.

The evil which has its origin in the conſtitution of the body politic itſelf, is irreſiſtibly augmented, when accidental extraneous circumſtances concur to drag to perdition, the ſtate or inſtitution which thus totters on its baſe.

Both the interior leven of corruption, and external adventitious evils, have taken place, and ſtill exiſt, with regard to the Company.

On the latter I ſhall not inſiſt, they are evident to every eye; with reſpect to the former, I place the firſt germination of thoſe ſeeds of deſtruction, in the period, when the conqueſt of countries, and the encreaſe of territory, were more the objects of the Company's attention, than the proſecution, increaſe, or improvement, of their commerce and navigation; and this period is, in my opinion, to be defined, as having chiefly exiſted from the year 1660 to 1670, during which time, it was, that the Company made themſelves maſters of the Portugueſe eſta-

bliſhments on the *Malabar* coaſt, and of the iſland of *Celebes*, both which acquiſitions coſt them a great expence of blood, and incalculable treaſures, and have never been of any other than an imaginary advantage to their intereſts.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from BATAVIA.—*Paſſage through the Southern Indian Ocean.—Obſervations reſpecting the Variation of the Compaſs.—View of the Land of* AFRICA.—*Anchorage under* ROBBEN-*iſland.—Driven out to Sea again.—Arrival in* TABLE-*bay.*

THE crew of my ſhip, being muſtered, was found to conſiſt of one hundred and twenty hands, including the paſſengers; but there were very few able ſeamen among them, and they moſtly conſiſted of mere boys, and were, beſides, in a ſickly condition.

We left the road of *Batavia*, on the 19th of November, anchoring at noon under the iſland *Onruſt*, and the next day near the iſland *Middleburgh*, where the ſhip *Ooſt-Capelle*, coming from *Ceylon*, paſſed by us, bringing intelligence from the coaſt of *Malabar*, that all was there in perfect tranquillity, and that the diſputes between the Company

Company and HYDER ALI, had been accommodated.

As the monſoon had already broke up, and the weſterly winds blew hard every day, it was the 25th, of that month, before we got as far as *Bantam*, whence we croſſed over to the coaſt of *Sumatra*, and anchored, the following day, under *North*-iſland, in order to avail of the northweſt winds, which generally blow at this time of the year, to keep the ſhore of *Sumatra* on board, to ſtarboard, and to clear the land, by preſerving the paſſage to windward of *Prince*'s-iſland. But we waited, in vain, for three days for ſuch an opportunity, as the wind came from the weſt and ſouthweſt, whereby we were obliged to croſs over again to the *Java* ſhore, and to work up along it, out to ſea. We found the Company's ſhip *Hoolwerf*, that had ſailed from *Batavia* on the 8th of November, ſtill at anchor here.

At length, on the 5th of December, we got, in company with that ſhip, to windward of *Prince*'s-iſland, and, clearing the ſtraits of *Sunda*, out to ſea; but it was not till the 7th, that we took our laſt obſervation of the land of *Java*, and loſt ſight of it. On the 9th

9th we loſt ſight of the ſhip *Hoolwerf*; and on the 11th, we met with the regular ſouth-eaſt tradewind, in the ſouth latitude of 10°, whence we ſet our courſes to run to the eaſtward of the *Cocoa*-iſlands, and afterwards, according to the Company's ſailing-orders, w.s.w. till in ſouth latitude 27½°, and longitude 77°; then w. by s. till in 30½° ſouth latitude, and longitude 60°; then again w.s.w. till in the latitude of Cape *Anguillas*; and laſtly, weſt, in order to ſtrike ſoundings on the reef, and run in ſight of land.

When in the latitude of *Madagaſcar*, we met with a violent ſtorm from the north-eaſt, the wind veering afterwards through eaſt to ſouth, and farther on to weſt, which, in theſe ſeas, very ſeldom happens, as the winds generally chop about, in a contrary direction, and run through the north to ſouthweſt.

The greateſt variations of the compaſſes, which we obſerved, were 27° and 28° N.W. in the ſouth latitude of 33½° to 34½°, and between the longitudes of 56° and 45°, whence they became leſs, till within ſight of

of Cape *Anguillas*, when the variation was 22½°.

It appears from the obſervations of navigators, that the line of the greateſt variation of the compaſs gradually removes from eaſt to weſt, and is every year found to be more weſterly than the preceding; at *Surat*, for inſtance, there was, a hundred years ago, a northweſterly variation of 7° or 8°, and now no more than 1½°, at the higheſt, is obſervable: and in the ſame way, in ſight of the *Cape of Good Hope*, the variation has increaſed, in the ſpace of the laſt twenty years, from 18° or 19°, to full 21°.

On the morning of the 4th of February, at ſunriſe, we ſaw land, which we ſuppoſed was that of *Africa*, appearing in one round hummock; and a better view of it in the evening, together with our ſtriking ſoundings on the reef, firſt in ſeventy-ſeven, and afterwards in fifty fathoms water, rendered it certain. On the 6th, we made Cape *Anguillas*, and the next day, both the eaſt and weſt points of *Falſe*-bay; and we found ourſelves twenty-five leagues more to the eaſtward than by the ſhip's reckoning.

The wind being fair that day, we flattered

tered ourſelves with the hope, that we ſhould reach *Table*-bay in the evening, and at eight o'clock, we were ſo far advanced, that we only were in want of one hour's continuation of the favourable opportunity which we then had, to accompliſh our deſires; but we were unfortunately firſt becalmed for a whole hour, and afterwards driven, on a ſudden, ſo far from the ſhore, out to ſea, by a violent flaw of wind from the ſouth-eaſt, which burſt upon us with dreadful force, from over the tops of the mountains, under the lee of which we lay driving without a breath of air, that we loſt all hope of gaining the road that bout.

This hard gale from the ſoutheaſt, laſted for ſeveral days, till at length it gradually fell away; and the wind coming round to the ſouthweſt, afforded us an opportunity, on the 15th of February, of approaching the ſhore, and we were within half a league of the road, when the ſoutheaſt wind again burſt upon us, and fruſtrated our attempts a ſecond time, yet it did not now blow with ſuch fury, but that we were enabled to reach the road of *Robben*, or *Seal* iſland, where

where we let drop our anchor, at eight o'clock, P.M.

The next day, the poſt-keeper of the iſland came on board of us, and brought with him a refreſhment of twelve ſheep and ſome greens.

We were forced to remain at anchor here, for this and the next day, on account of the continuing ſoutheaſt wind, which encreaſed to ſuch a degree, on the evening of the 17th, that the cable of our beſt bower broke, and our ſheet-anchor coming home, we were again driven to leeward. Againſt this adverſe fortune we had no remedy but patience, and perſeverance, in ſtruggling, as much as poſſible, againſt the raging ſouth-eaſt wind, and we continued beating up, in hopes of a favourable change, in which we were long diſappointed; and though, on the 4th of March, we again made the *Table*-mountain, yet we could not reach the road, but were anew compelled, by the hard ſoutheaſt wind, to come to an anchor, in the evening, under *Robben*-iſland. On the following day, at eleven o'clock, A.M. a weſterly breeze ſprung up, and we inſtantly weighed anchor, and ſteered for the

road

road of the *Cape*, where we caſt anchor at two o'clock, P.M. ſaluting the road with eleven guns. We found lying here, the flagſhip of the return-fleet, the *Breedenhof*, Captain LEONARD VAN COOPSTAD, who had been driven from her anchors from under *Robben*-iſland, three weeks before us, and, after beating about for twenty days, had at laſt ſucceeded in getting into the road.

Having moored the ſhip in ſafety, I went on ſhore, in order to pay my reſpects to the governor, and to tranſact what buſineſs I had to do here.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

Temperature of the Air at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*Tides.—Soil. — Water. — Diſorders.— Character of the Inhabitants of* CAPETOWN.— *Their ſelfiſh Diſpoſition.—Their deceitful Hoſpitality.—Little or no Education among them.— Accompliſhments and Blandiſhments of the Ladies. —Their further Character.—Contraſted with the genuine Hoſpitality, and open, ingenuous Diſpoſition of the Farmers, or Country-coloniſts.*

IN the further account which I now intend giving of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I ſhall not enlarge much concerning it, and what is remarkable about it, as I have, in the account of my former voyage, and in the beginning of this, been ample on the ſubject; and I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to ſuch new obſervations as preſented themſelves to me, or to what I before omitted to mention.

The temperature of the air is not only very different in the good, and in the bad monſoon,

nonſoon, but likewiſe varies conſiderably t different times of the ſame day, in pro- ortion as the cold ſoutheaſt wind blows hore or leſs hard; the thermometer riſing metimes 7° or 8°, upon the wind falling: the ſummer, it is generally between 72° nd 80°. Sometimes, before ſunriſe, a thick nd damp fog comes on, which makes it very old, in general coming with a weſterly or outherly wind; upon which not unfrequently follows, a day or two afterwards, a ſtiff gale from the ſoutheaſt. The tide riſes twice in the twenty-four hours. Full and new moon make it high water at three o'clock; and it generally riſes and falls five feet.

The whole ſhore, from above, or weſt of the town, to paſt the *Zoute*, or *Salt*-river, is lined with rocks, moſt of which appear above water at the time of ebb. Between theſe, and farther to ſeaward, are produced a conſiderable quantity of thoſe marine productions which our ſeamen call trumpets *, and which occaſion a very diſagreeable ſmell in the town, in warm weather.

The ſoil around the *Cape* is, for the moſt

* *Fucus buccinalis.*

part, of a ſtony nature: under the firſt ſtratum of earth appears a bed of rock, from five to ſix feet deep, which when cut through, or blown up, ſhews, in many places, a hard whitiſh clay, which has ſomething of a gritty, or ſtony texture.

The water, which the inhabitants drink, and with which the ſhips that touch here are ſupplied, proceeds from a ſpring, ſituated about half an hour's walk from the town, at the foot of the *Table*-mountain, in a piece of ground, which, from its owner, is called *the Garden of Breda*, not far from the Company's garden*; it is incloſed in a wall, with a little door, or window, in the front, in order to keep the water from dirt and

* No. IX. in the Appendix, contains an abſtract of the Latin deſcriptions, in the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of OLDELAND, who was ſuperintendant of the Company's garden at the Cape, in the year 1695: this herbal extended to fourteen large folios: and the Flora of the *Cape*, then known, is ſufficiently indicative of the vaſt botanical treaſures which this country affords, and which, in later times, have exerciſed the diligence and abilities of SPARRMAN, THUNBERG, PATERSON, &c. It will not be an unintereſting taſk to the practical botaniſt, to compare the modern reſearches of thoſe gentlemen, with this curious ſpecimen of the diligence and ſcience of the laſt century. *T.*

impurity;

impurity; it is thence led to the town, through wooden pipes, which lie three feet, and, in ſome ſpots, ſix feet, under the ground, in order the better to preſerve it.

The diſorders which are moſt prevalent here, are thoſe that may be denominated rheumatic; they proceed from the inconſtancy of the weather, and are moſt rife when the ſoutheaſt wind prevails.

Although the firſt coloniſts here were compoſed of various nations, they are, by the operation of time, now ſo thoroughly blended together, that they are not to be diſtinguiſhed from each other; even moſt of ſuch as have been born in Europe, and who have reſided here for ſome years, have, in a manner, changed their national character, for that of this country.

There are few European, or Indian, women here; and thoſe of them that do live here, dreſs, in general, according to the cuſtoms of their native country.

Wherever I ſpeak of the general character, and manners, of the inhabitants of the *Cape*, the country-people, or farmers, muſt not be included, who, in many reſpects, are very different, and I mean only

the inhabitants of the town, or chief ſettlement.

The chief trait in their character, which appears the moſt evident to a ſtranger, after a little reflection, is the love of money; and this is ſo palpable and univerſal amongſt them, both in men and women, that one muſt be more than prejudiced in their favour, to attempt to deny it. Flattering words, inſinuating careſſes, the allurements of friendſhip, love, and hoſpitality, nought is omitted, or neglected, that can contribute to gain the hearts and inſure the confidence of the wandering ſtrangers who touch at the *Cape*; this appears to me the probable reaſon, why moſt people, who have been here once or twice, and have, without reflection, taken the baſe metal of ſelf-intereſt for the ſterling gold of unfeigned courteſy and friendſhip, are ſo profuſe in their encomiums on the *Cape*, as if it were the moſt agreeable abode upon earth, and the center of every ſatisfaction.

But view the other ſide of the picture, and examine into the principles, and motives, which give riſe to this abundance of allurements; and the promotion of ſelf-

intereſt

intereſt will appear to be the main ſpring that excites this exerciſe of ſeeming hoſpitality.

A conſequence, which naturally flows herefrom, is the mutual envy which they cheriſh towards each other, eſpecially towards thoſe that proſper, either in trade, or in accommodating ſtrangers with board and lodging, by which moſt of the inhabitants of the *Cape* earn their ſubſiſtence.

Theſe views, as before ſaid, are common to both ſexes. With reſpect to the individual character of the men: they are remarkably diſtinguiſhable from thoſe who inhabit the poliſhed parts of Europe, by an utter ignorance of whatever does not daily ſtrike their outward ſenſes; excluſive of this, they can form no ideas; abſtract ſpeculations are unknown to them; and they do not poſſeſs any inclination to exerciſe their underſtanding by reading, or to become acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of other civilized people, and to reform their own.

The love of repoſe and inactivity, or, indeed, what may be denominated lazineſs, they have in common with the orientals;

and they delight in a ſtate of eaſe and ſloth, to a degree that would not be expected, from a people, inhabiting a temperate climate.

The ladies, on the contrary, are by no means deficient in life and ſpirits; and nature may, with juſtice, be ſaid to have been more liberal to them than to their male companions, although much of their vivacity and pleaſingneſs may be aſcribed to education. The mothers endeavour to inſtil into the tender boſoms of their daughters, from their earlieſt youth, the idea that they are formed to pleaſe the other ſex; and the firſt leſſon they learn, is how to make themſelves agreeable to the men, and eſpecially to ſtrangers. The aids of ornament and dreſs, are not neglected; and no expence, that the parents can afford, is ſpared, to give them every accompliſhment. Muſic, dancing, ſinging, whatever can add grace to the luſtre of beauty, nothing is omitted that can render them elegant and attractive. When they have paſſed the years of childhood, and enter upon the condition of ſpinſters, or as ſoon as they enter their teens, they are taught to be free and unreſerved

unreſerved in their manner, and careſſing in their converſation. Their endeavours ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: a few innocent liberties granted to their temporary lovers, are the means of cementing their conqueſts, and of retaining the homage of their adorers, at leaſt as long as the ſhip lies in the road; and it does not unfrequently happen, that the paſſing ſeaman forms an attachment here, that leads to a matrimonial connection, before he is himſelf aware of the circumſtance.

Unfortunately, however, moſt of theſe amiable and lovely girls, are no ſooner married, and get children, than they become groſs and corpulent, and loſe thoſe charms, which captivated all hearts, and ſecured them a huſband; they loſe, at the ſame time, their attention to neatneſs in dreſſing, which they always aſſiduouſly cultivate before marriage.

When they are met with early in the morning, in their houſes, their ſlovenlineſs is immediately apparent; and thoſe who might, the evening before, be viewed with pleaſure, now become objects of diſguſt.

The fathers do not take the ſmalleſt

trouble to inſtruct their ſons in any thing. What the children learn in their ſchools, they ſeem to think a ſufficient ſtock of knowledge to laſt them during their whole lives. Few give themſelves any trouble to afford them any other opportunities of improvement; others have not the means and others are too fond, to ſuffer their children to go to a more civilized country, for obtaining a better education.

The number of the inhabitants, therefore, is augmented, but not the number of uſeful members of ſociety; neither do the mechanical, or the fine arts, make any progreſs here. Young people marry early, get children, and reſort to the ſame means of maintaining a family, as moſt others; namely, the keeping of a lodging and boarding-houſe for ſtrangers; when theſe go away, the family live as well as they can, and as ſparingly as poſſible, till others arrive: and the cheapneſs of proviſions encourages this mode of life above all things. The men are devoid both of ſufficient courage and emulation to ſeek, or better, their fortunes, in the naval or military ſervice; perhaps theſe profeſſions are too repugnant to their

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ſo beloved repoſe, and uſual eaſy life. What utility the encreaſe of a population, of ſuch a deſcription, can bring to the public, in general, or to the improvement of the colony, in particular, may eaſily be conceived; and ſuch an encreaſe ought not, therefore, to be looked upon as a progreſſive promotion of the general welfare.

It is very differently ſituated with reſpect to the country-people, or farmers. Their wives are no leſs prolific than thoſe of the inhabitants of *Capetown*. Their children are brought up in the occupation of their parents; if their land is not large enough to afford a proper portion to each of their children, extenſive, and yet uncultivated, tracts of country, wait only to open their fertile boſoms to whoever will beſtow upon them the labour of tillage. Theſe agriculturers, inſtead of being a burthen upon ſociety, augment the numbers and importance of that reſpectable body of men, from whoſe labour ariſes originally the proſperity of every country.

The character of theſe people is likewiſe very different; an ingenuous cordiality, which viſibly proceeds from the heart, makes

makes them fulfil the duties of hoſpitality and humanity, without any motives of ſelfiſhneſs to ſpur them on: their words may be confided in; to break their word, or to act deceitfully, with any one, is unknown among them, at leaſt amongſt by far the greateſt portion of theſe happy ruſtics.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

Extent of the Colony.—Productions.—Corn.—Rapacity of the Company's Servants towards the Farmers.—Price of Wheat to the Company.—Tithes paid in Kind at the Town.—Reflections respecting the Encouragement of Agriculture, and the Exportation of Produce.—Respecting the Government.—Reform obviously necessary.—Discovery of a large and navigable River in the interior Parts, by Colonel GORDON.*—Account of the Country, Temperature, Animals, &c. in that Neighbourhood.*

THE extent of the colony is very great, and the bounds are removed at pleasure; so that the exact line of demarcation between the territory of the Dutch, and that of the native inhabitants, is not easy to be found out, or laid down. But this large district is very far from being entirely composed of pasture-grounds, and arable land; only the smallest part of it is adapted to those purposes, because the valleys, and most of the flat country, have little or no water; it is, therefore,

therefore, only at the foot, or on the ſides, of the hills, where the farmer is enabled to proſecute, with advantage, the cultivation of corn, and of the vine, that farms have been laid out; and to theſe muſt always be adjoined, a large extent of paſture-ground for the cattle, which muſt equally, in order to avoid the want of water, be ſituated near the hills. This is the reaſon that the farms lie at a great diſtance from each other, and a countryman ſometimes calls another his next neighbour, who lives one or two leagues off: the farther you go inland, the greater intervals of uncultivated country occur between the farms.

By this means, every family, centering, as it were, within itſelf, approaches, in time, and in proportion as they are at a greater diſtance from the *Cape*, to the ſimplicity of nature; ſo that even the fartheſt ſettlers, who reſide thirty or forty days' journey from *Capetown*, more reſemble Hottentots than the poſterity of Europeans. Captain GORDON, who returned from one of his journies, when I was here, told me, that they even went dreſſed in the Hottentot faſhion.

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The productions which this part of Africa yields, are, corn*, wine, butter, and tallow. Corn, and eſpecially wheat, is now produced in conſiderable quantities, and would, perhaps, be more and more productive, if proper meaſures were reſorted to, to encourage the cultivation, and to remove the obſtacles which operate to reſtrain its extenſion.

* The kind of corn, moſt generally cultivated, is wheat; and it richly repays the labour of the huſbandman. Wheat yields, in general, an encreaſe of eight and ten, and frequently fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five for one: in many places, it is ſaid, the produce is ſtill more abundant; in the neighbourhood of *Muſſelbay*, where, however, little wheat is ſown, the ſoil is ſaid to be ſo fertile, that every grain always produces ſeveral ears; frequently twenty, nay, as far as eighty ears, proceeding from one root. Dr. THUNBERG, who conceived this to be ſcarcely credible, counted them himſelf in the field, and found that a great many ears had frequently ſprung up from a ſingle grain, though the higheſt number he met with, amounted to no more than forty-one. (See pages 70 and 78, of vol. II.) Barley is cultivated chiefly for the horſes, and is mowed once or oftener, before it is in the ear, and given to them for provender. Rye is ſcarcely ever ſown, except in ſmall quantities for pleaſure, or by ſome farmer who chooſes to uſe the ſtraw for thatching. The oats brought to the Cape from Europe, are looked upon as the worſt of weeds; as the grains are eaſily ſhaken out of the ears by the violence of the wind, and ſowing themſelves, choak up all the other corn. It is to no purpoſe to lay a piece of land, ſo ſpoiled, fallow for ſeveral years, for when the field comes to be ploughed up, the oats, having lain unhurt in the ground, ſhoot up afreſh. *T.*

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I have before detailed what the country-people told me on this ſubject, founded on their experience; and what the obſtacles were, which ſtood in the way of the cultivation of wheat; I ſhall not, therefore, repeat it here, but merely add, that many are averſe to the delivery of their corn to the Company, and that this is even ſometimes rendered impoſſible to them, by the rapaciouſneſs of the Company's ſervants at the *Cape*.

Not ſatisfied with the twenty pounds ſurplus-weight, allowed them upon every *mud*, which the farmer muſt deliver at the rate of one hundred and eighty pounds, and which the receivers deliver again to the Company at only one hundred and ſixty pounds, the farmers muſt, beſides, fill their hands, in order to be allowed to deliver their corn to the Company: and the ſame takes place with reſpect to the wine: this can be done by thoſe who are perſons of property, and who do not live far from *Cape-town*, where the corn muſt be delivered, but not by thoſe whoſe farms lie farther inland, and many days' journey off, on account of the expences of conveyance. For each wag-

gon-

gon-load, reckoned at ten *mud*, or $\frac{10}{27}$ of a laſt, the Company pay eighteen rixdollars, or *f.* 43. 4 *. If one or more oxen chance to die during the paſſage, or any accident happens to the waggon, the whole of what the poor farmer would have to receive for his corn, is loſt; and thoſe who live at a diſtance from the *Cape*, and are poſſeſſed of a little property, can not carry on the cultivation of grain in a greater proportion than what they want for the conſumption of their own family.

There is another thing that is very oppreſſive to the farmer, and eſpecially to thoſe who live far off; namely, that they are obliged to convey the tithes of their grain, which are due to the Company, as to the proprietors of the ſoil, to the *Cape*, at their own riſk and expence, without any conſideration, how far their farm may lay, or how difficult the roads over the mountains may be; in which, ſometimes, the corn is forced to be unloaded from the waggons, and carried on the backs of oxen, through defiles, and over precipices, for

* Equal to about 20*s.* ſterling per quarter, Engliſh. Twenty-ſeven *mud* make a laſt of Amſterdam, which is equal to about 10$\frac{1}{8}$ quarters. *T.*

more

more than one or two leagues, becauſe a loaded waggon cannot paſs through ſuch ways, or, at moſt, only with half a load, or one of five *mud*, at a time.

It is, therefore, not enough to have ſought a vent for the productions of this colony, above what are required for its own conſumption, or the occaſional ſupply of the veſſels that touch here, in order to render it more flouriſhing; but the agricultural intereſt ought firſt to have been put upon a better footing; the farmer ought to have been liberated from thoſe galling bonds which diſcourage his induſtry; better opportunities for the interior conveyance of his produce ought firſt to have been provided; granaries for depoſiting it, ought to have been eſtabliſhed in different parts; and, finally, the rapacity of the receivers at the *Cape* ought to be curbed, and put a ſtop to.

The direction at home have certainly conſidered the corn-trade of the *Cape*, in another point of view; and ſeem to have been miſled by the plauſibility of a new plan (although it was before ſuggeſted, in the year 1753, by Governor MOSSEL, in his *Memorial of the State of India)*, grounded upon

upon ſtatements, which, perhaps, ſhewed every thing in the moſt favourable light, and which promiſed to afford immediate fruits, although the ſeeds of it were not yet ſown.

I allude to the promiſes, or aſſertions, that were made, that the wheat might be provided for the low price of thirty-ſix gilders per laſt, and that contracts for ſuch delivery might be entered into; it being pretended to be known, as a certainty, that, in the year before (1771), wheat had been ſold at the rate of nine rixdollars of forty-eight ſtivers, per laſt.

I made enquiries among the farmers, and eſpecially among thoſe who had, for many years, frequented, or reſided at, the town, both reſpecting the price of the wheat, and that of the tallow, as it was alleged that a hundred pounds of candles had been ſold for five gilders; and all of them declared to me, that they never knew wheat to have been cheaper than nine or ten rixdollars, ſay from *f.*20 to *f.*24 per waggon-load of ten *mud*, or eighteen hundred pounds weight *; but that this had continued but a very ſhort

* Equal to 10*s.* or 11*s.* ſterling, per quarter. *T.*

time; and the greaſe, of which the tallow candles were made, they never knew to be lower than four rixdollars, or *f.*9 12, per hundred pounds *. At preſent the waggon-load of wheat ſells for thirty-two rixdollars, or *f.*76 13; and tallow for ſix rixdollars, or *f.*14 8, per hundred pounds †.

It does not appear either, that hitherto this fetching away of the produce, has brought any advantage to the colony; and this year (certainly alſo partly occaſioned by a failure in the harveſt), not even the flyboat from *Batavia* could procure a cargo, although the government of the *Cape*, in order to diſguiſe this want of grain, thought fit to order that veſſel to *Batavia* with troops, though there were ſhips enough at hand, or upon the point of arriving, by which the conveyance of the troops might have been effected, with more propriety and convenience.

To render this a flouriſhing colony, it would be neceſſary to give to it a mixed government, and one that is adapted to the nature of the country, and the diſpoſition of

* About 18*s.* ſterling per cwt. Engliſh. *T.*

† Reſpectively equal to about 35*s.* 6*d.* ſterling per quarter for wheat, and 27*s.* per cwt. for tallow. *T.*

its

its inhabitants; a government that muſt not be thwarted by the controulments of arbitrary power. It is at home that the means of putting this in practice, muſt be ſought for. The adminiſtration of the goverment of this colony ought not to be put upon the ſame footing, as that of the Company's Aſiatic poſſeſſions, where the greateſt part of their ſubjects conſiſts of a ſervile and enſlaved people, who muſt be compelled, by violence, to cultivate their country, and to deliver the produce to the Company; or where policy requires that ſtate-practices of expediency ſhould be reſorted to, with reſpect to the neighbouring princes, their allies, in order to contain them within due bounds, and to keep them quiet.

The firſt mode of adminiſtration is both practicable and neceſſary here; and for the latter, there is no appearance or even ſhadow of reaſon. The numbers of the yet remaining Hottentots are too inconſiderable to be, in any ways, an object. The nature of the laws ought here, as well as every where elſe, to be moulded according to the nature of the inhabitants, and of their method of life, and means of ſubſiſtence. The inhabitants are

all Europeans, or deſcendants of Europeans (the ſmall number of ſlaves does not here come in conſideration), who have not yet loſt the remembrance, or the love, of liberty; to govern theſe with the iron rod of oriental deſpotiſm, and to ſubject them to arbitrary and illframed laws and regulations, can never afford a permanent ſecurity, or muſt terminate in the entire ruin of the colony.

They earn their bread by agriculture, which we are taught by the examples laid before us by hiſtory and obſervation, flouriſhes no where in greater luxuriance, than under a mild government, and this, therefore, is of greater neceſſity here, where the cultivation of the ſoil may be ſaid to be yet in its infancy.

It was in this light that it was ſeen, by the father of this country, the worthy promoter of the welfare of this African colony, governor TULBAGH, who, by a reſidence of upwards of fifty years on the ſpot, was fully acquainted with the true intereſts of the coloniſts, and the nature of the country; and who attached every heart to him, by his mild adminiſtration, and his paternal attention to the welfare of all: although death has, for many years, deprived the colony and the

the Company of the benefit of his ſervices, he ſtill lives in the grateful memory of the inhabitants; and the remembrance of his truly paternal adminiſtration will never be extinguiſhed among them, and never will they forget the thouſand times bleſſed name of TULBAGH.

The diſcovery lately made by Captain GORDON, of a large and navigable river in the ſouth latitude of about 29°, might prove of great advantage to this colony in particular, and to trade and navigation in general, if, as appears probable, it be found to extend to the northeaſtward; as by that route a trade might be carried on into the heart of *Africa*, or into the rich country of *Sofala*, and a commerce eſtabliſhed there, in gold and elephants' teeth. Or if it be found to run to the weſtward, and thus, probably, to diſembogue itſelf in the Atlantic Ocean, a ſettlement might be formed at its mouth, and a bay or harbour eſtabliſhed, where ſhips might remain in ſafety on the weſt coaſt of *Africa*.

GORDON met with this river very accidentally and unexpectedly, and did not perceive it, till he was upon its banks, which were very ſteep. He told me that the breadth

of the river between them, was like that of the *Maeſe* at *Maeſtricht*. Aſcending a hill, he ſaw that it divided itſelf into two branches towards the eaſt. The water of it was very clear, and well taſted; and the land in that neighbourhood was graſſy and hilly *.

* Compare this with what SPARMAN ſays, vol. ii. page 152. "*Groote-rivier*, or *Great*-river, is ſaid to be the largeſt "river in *Africa*, and to be no otherwiſe known than from "the accounts of the Hottentots. It is reported to contain a "great number of ſeacows, or riverhorſes, which are very "bold and daring; ſo that it cannot, without danger, be "navigated for the purpoſe of further exploring the country. "It is ſuppoſed to lie directly to the northward, at the diſ-"tance of eight or ten days' journey from the *Sneeuw-bergen*. "It was ſaid to riſe in the eaſt, and run ſtrait on towards the "north. It is probable that this river ſoon after turns off to "the weſt and ſouth, and is the ſame *Groote-rivier* which I "have inſerted in my map, on the authority of Mr. HENRY "HOP's *Journal of an Expedition to the Diſtrict of Anamaguas*, "publiſhed in a compilation called *Nouvelle Deſcription du "Cap de Bonne Eſperance*. This river, however, muſt not "be confounded with another of the ſame name, which "empties itſelf at the eaſtern ſhore of *Africa*, and the *Caffre*-"coaſt." This river is, probably, that called, by Colonel GORDON, the river of *Orange*, and mentioned in LE VAILLANT's ſecond journey. It is to be hoped that the death of Colonel GORDON will not deprive the world of the invaluable reſults of his reſearches; and that, in whatever hands his papers may be, they will not be conſigned to oblivion, or withheld from the public, who might juſtly form great expectations from his long reſidence at the *Cape*, his frequent journies up the country, and his well-known zeal for the promotion of knowledge. *T.*

Not

Not meeting with any place which was fordable, to carry over his baggage and arms, he found himſelf obliged to put a ſtop to his expedition, and after travelling a day's journey along its banks, to ſet off on his return to the ſouthward.

The height of the barometer in the plain country, at the foot of the hills, he found to be twenty-three inches, ſo that the riſing of the land to the northward, muſt be very conſiderable.

The ſeaſons ſeemed here to be reverſed, for, while it was, at that time, the good monſoon at the *Cape*, with dry weather, he there met with much rain, thunder, and lightning.

In this river he met with a great number of ſeacows (*hippopotami*), and he ſhewed me ſome very curious drawings of them; as likewiſe ſeveral ſkeletons, and the repreſentations, as well of the hyena, or tiger-wolf *, as of an animal that has much analogy with the zebra, but is diſtinguiſhed from it, by the black ſtripes being in a more ſerpentine direction towards the haunches, and that the head more reſembled that of a horſe, than an

* *Hyena maculata.*

aſs, which was, indeed, the caſe with the whole body *.

* Moſt likely the quagga *(equus quagga)*; theſe animals can be tamed and broke in; SPARRMAN ſays he ſaw one driven in a team, with five horſes, at the *Cape*. The zebra too, if we may believe LE VAILLANT, is capable of being tamed by man, notwithſtanding all that travellers and naturaliſts have aſſerted with reſpect to its indocility: he relates, that having hunted down a female zebra, he got upon her back; her reſiſtance was feeble, and leſs than that of a horſe not yet broke in, and ſhe ſoon went as tractably as his horſe; he rode her for about a mile, but his hounds having, in the chace, bitten her ſeverely in ſeveral places, and as he could not afford time to ſtay the dreſſing of her wounds, he was obliged to abandon the project he had formed of keeping and taming her, and to give her up to his Hottentots, who diſpatched her, and feaſted on her fleſh. T.

CHAPTER XI.

Expenditure and Receipts of the Colony.—Eſtabliſhment.—Articles of Trade—To and from the Cape.—Revenues of the Company.—Means of rendering this Colony leſs burthenſome.

THE colony of the *Cape*, conſidered by itſelf, is an object of conſiderable expence to the Company, as it coſts them annually about three hundred thouſand gilders more than it yields, by reaſon of the little trade which they carry on, and the ſtrong garriſon which is obliged to be kept here.

In the year 1770, the expenditure of the colony amounted to the

ſum of . .	*f.*452,010	15	0
and the net receipts to	157,556	11	8
thus, in that year, there was a deficiency of	*f.*294,454	3	8*

without

* 26,768*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* ſterling. In 1779, the charges amounted to *f.*505,269, and the receipts to *f.*195,168, making the balance against the Cape amount to *f.*310,101 (*f.*28,191 ſterling).

Governor

without taking into conſideration the intereſt of a capital of *f.*904,004 8 8 *, for which this colony then ſtood debtor, for balances of ſpecie, amounts of ammunition, ſlaves, cattle, &c. and which is not now (1778) diminiſhed.

The articles of trade which are ſent from Holland to the *Cape* by the Company, conſiſt, for the greateſt part, in iron, coals, and nails.

Many complaints are made reſpecting the ſupply of the two firſtmentioned articles, in which no regularity, or due proportion, is obſerved. The ſtores are ſometimes amply provided with iron, and no coals to ſupply the forges for its preparation; and, at other times, the contrary takes place: and, in thoſe

Governor MOSSEL calculated, in his time, that the charges might amount to *f.*404,000; againſt which he took, for the revenues, a ſum of *f.* 140,000, which would leave a balance of only *f.*264,000 (about £.24,000): but he calculated upon an eſtabliſhment of no more than 900 men, including the civil, medical, military, and eccleſiaſtical departments. In 1776-1777, however, the eſtabliſhment of the Dutch Company at the *Cape* was as follows: 506 perſons in civil, and ſixteen in eccleſiaſtical, employments; ſixteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, thirty-nine belonging to the artillery, 326 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 872 ſoldiers, and 206 mechanics; in all, 1,981 Europeans. *T.*

* About 82,182*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

caſes,

caſes, the inhabitants, but more particularly the farmers, are compelled, by the purveyor, to take more than they want, of what happens to be moſt abundant; and this is again a grievance that preſſes hard upon the agriculturer.

In former times, I was told, that the Company uſed to ſend to the *Cape* ſuch wood as was required for the conſtruction of waggons; but as there has been a want of ſuch wood in Holland, as well as in other parts of Europe, the exportation of any to this colony has not, for many years, taken place.

The articles of trade which the Company ſend from India to the *Cape*, are, a few coarſe cotton cloths, a quantity of arrack, and eight or nine hundred thouſand pounds weight of rice: but the whole does not yield much profit.

Different articles are likewiſe brought in private trade from India, as coffee, ſugar, and eſpecially timber, together with ſome cotton cloths. Individuals alſo bring with them various trifles from Holland, but no articles of any conſequence.

On the other hand, the *Cape* furniſhes to India, a cargo of wheat, ſome butter, and

four

four or five hundred leagers of wine. The firſt and the laſt article are now likewiſe ſent to Holland *.

The chief revenues of the Company ariſe from the duties upon exports, imports, wines, &c. the tithes of the productions of the field, and the tax upon farms, which is ſettled at twenty-five rixdollars annually: wealthy farmers pay this tax in ready money; but thoſe who are poor, or who live at a diſtance, and cannot procure caſh for their produce, or ſuch as are peculiarly favoured by the collectors, are allowed to pay it in kind, that is, in cattle, or in wheat †.

Although

* Between fifty and ſixty awms of Conſtantia wine, was the quantity uſually ſold every year by the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, at their autumn-ſales. T.

† Beſides the annual tax for his farm, the farmer paid alſo for wax candles four rixdollars a year, for every horſe one ſtiver, and for every hundred ſheep one gilder. Each farmer, whether rich or poor, or poſſeſſed of a large or ſmall farm, pays for mending the roads; and all pay ferry-money alike, let thei road lead them that way or not. A tax was likewiſe levied by the Dutch Company, under the denomination of lion and tyger-money; this tax was paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rixdollars for lion, and two gilders for tiger-money; out of this fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itſelf, and when the coloniſts were much infeſted by wild beaſts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of theſe animals. At firſt, government paid ſixteen rixdollars for a lion, and ten gilders for a tiger,

after

Although the colony is thus a yearly heavy charge upon the Company, it amply compenſates for the expenditure of three hundred thouſand gilders per annum, by its excellent poſition, for a place of refreſhment, for the outward and homeward bound India ſhips. It is likewiſe much frequented for that purpoſe by ſhips of other nations, which do not contribute, in a ſlight degree, to the advantage of the colony, both by their daily expenditure at the *Cape*, and by their affording a vent for its productions; and which, in my opinion, ought rather to be encouraged than diſcountenanced, as they, in general, pay ready money, and we, by that means, draw the ſpecie of other nations into our hands. Indeed, the prohibitory regulations, in this reſpect, ſerve, at preſent, no other purpoſe than that of filling the pockets of thoſe who are appointed to prevent a clandeſtine trade.

after which, the ſum was diminiſhed to ten rixdollars for a lion's, and ſix gilders for a tiger's ſkin. But when theſe animals were ſo far extirpated, that ſeldom any were to be ſeen, the premium was diſcontinued, excepting in caſe they were brought alive to the *Cape*, which is hardly practicable. But the tax remained in force, and aſſumed the nature of a permanent impoſt. T.

Political conſiderations have, probably, prevented the Company from granting the freedom of trade and navigation to the coloniſts of the *Cape*; for I imagine that they cannot have failed to perceive that nothing would more contribute to leſſen the charges of the ſettlement, or to encreaſe the revenues againſt them, and to add to its power and importance, than ſuch a meaſure.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—*View of the Iſland* ST. HELENA.—*Of the Iſland of* ASCENSION. — *Narrow Bounds preſcribed to the Company's Ships.—Reaſons why other Nations ſo far outſtrip the Dutch in naval Improvements.—A Ball of Fire.—Paſſage of the Line.—Council aſſembled on board the Commodore.—Meeting with a Fleet of ſixteen Ships of War.—An Eclipſe of the Sun.—View of* LIZARD-*Point.—Meeting with the cruiſing Frigates.—Paſſage of the Straits of* DOVER.—*Arrival before* FLUSHING, *and in the Road of* RAMMEKENS.

THE departure of the third diviſion of the return-fleet being fixed for the 2d of April, the ſhips crews were muſtered on the firſt of that month, and, on the day after, we received our diſpatches on board, in the morning. At four o'clock, P.M. the flagſhip made the ſignal for getting under weigh, and we were ſoon under ſail, with a light breeze of wind from the ſoutheaſt. In the evening, it fell perfectly calm, with the appearance of variable weather in the ſky, while a heavy

ſea

ſea rolling into the bay from the ſouthweſt, ſet us ſtrongly towards the eaſt ſhore, and we had much to do to avoid being driven upon it during the night. This made us determine, as ſoon as the day broke, to run again into the outer road of the *Cape*, and, at ten o'clock, A.M. all the ſhips of the fleet lay again at anchor in the road.

We did not, however, ſtop long; for, at half paſt one o'clock, P.M. the ſoutheaſt wind again coming on, the flagſhip made the ſignal for getting under ſail; which had a better iſſue, as at four o'clock we had all paſſed *Robben* or *Seal*-iſland, and were out at ſea.

The ſoutheaſt wind, with which we had left the *Cape*, kept ſteady, and blew hard, ſo that on the 11th of April, we had already paſſed the tropic of capricorn, and entered the torrid zone.

On the 18th of April, all the captains of the fleet went on board the flagſhip, by ſignal from the commodore, where we received information that we were to purſue our voyage to Holland, through the Channel; and two days afterwards, we ſaw, at

break

break of day, the iſland *St. Helena*, paſſing it at four o'clock, P.M.

The weather began now to grow very hot, and the thermometer was ſometimes, in the afternoon, as high as 87°, while the coolneſs of the night made it fall no lower than to 81°.

On the 26th of April, at daybreak, we run in ſight of the iſland *Aſcenſion*, paſſing it in the afternoon, and loſing ſight of it in the evening.

This iſland lies 1° 37′ too much to the eaſtward, in our maps, according to the obſervations of M. DE LA CAILLE made in the road; but the latitude agrees with the obſervations made by us. We had, in ſight of it, a northweſterly variation of 11°, which differs one degree from the obſervation of the variation, when in ſight of the ſame iſland, on my former voyage, being now one degree more, ſo that the line ſhewing 10° variation, was removed in ſeven years one degree to the weſtward.

Hence we ſteered for the equinoctial line N.W. by N. although the general ſailing-orders, and particular inſtructions of the

Company, direct that it ſhould be N.W. The reaſon of this our diſobedience, was, that a N.W. by N. courſe was materially ſhorter than the other, which would, at leaſt, have led us one hundred and thirty or forty leagues farther; for this reaſon, the ſhips of other nations, when they have a fair opportunity, never ſteer more to the weſtward, than they can help, and keep in a northerly courſe; theſe, not being bound to follow any particular inſtruction or ſailing-orders, with reſpect to their navigation, generally perform much ſhorter voyages, both to and from the Eaſt-Indies, than the ſhips of the Company. Hence too, the commanders of Dutch ſhips, impeded and fettered in their proceedings, cannot poſſibly make as much progreſs as others, in the improvement of navigation; and to this it may alſo, in my opinion, be greatly attributed, that the Engliſh, the French, and others, ſo far outſtrip us in the making of improvements, new diſcoveries, &c. although our Eaſt-India trade might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, and a ſchool for the greateſt nautical improvements,

provements, on account of the number of ſhips and men it employs, and the diſtance and diverſity of the voyages.

It is eaſy to refute the objection, that this liberty of proceeding might be abuſed to the prejudice of the Company's intereſts. In order, however, to prevent the ſtoppage of wages and premiums, the ſeizure of goods, and other difficulties, which would enſue to the ſhips' officers and crews, from this deviation from the ſtrict letter of the Company's inſtructions, we, the five commanders of the ſhips, agreed to let the courſe ſteered be noted as N.W. in the ſhips' journals, and I accordingly followed this method in mine, till the eight of May, after which time, the true courſe was noted down. This gave a difference of full ſixty leagues, which we ought to have ſailed more to the weſtward, if we would afterwards have had to bear away to the eaſtward again.

On the 28th of April, a little after eight o'clock in the evening, we ſaw a ball of fire, about the ſize of a cannon-ball, ſhooting from eaſt to weſt, and which left behind it a broad, undulating, fiery ſtripe, which continued viſible for a quarter of an

hour after the ball had diſappeared, and ſeemed gradually to be driven by the wind to the weſtward; the ſky appeared at that time with patches of lowering and ſtormy clouds, the wind was at S.E. and the thermometer ſtood at 82°.

On the 3d of May we paſſed the line, and the commodore was welcomed in the northern hemiſphere by a ſalute of eleven guns from each ſhip.

On the following day, we loſt the ſettled ſoutheaſterly tradewind, and we met with light and variable airs, calms, and heavy ſhowers of rain, not, however, accompanied with much thunder and lightning; the heat encreaſed conſiderably at the ſame time, although we did not ſee the ſun for ſeveral days, the air being, for the moſt part, very hazy, and the ſky cloudy. The medium height of the thermometer, from the 1ſt to the 9th of May, including both day and night, was 83°, and at noon it was ſometimes 89°. This continued till the 11th, when we met with refreſhing gales from the northeaſt, and afterwards clearer weather, in the north latitude of 6° and 7°.

On the 17th we were in 12½° north latitude,

tude, when we edged away from N.W. by N. to north, as cloſe as wind and weather would permit; in order, if poſſible, to run in ſight of the iſlands *Corvus* and *Floris*.

Here the northeaſt and eaſt wind began to blow in freſh gales, frequently with a ſtormy ſky, and much rain, till in the north latitude of 30°, when the wind veered more to the ſoutheaſt, till in about 40°, when it changed to weſt, though only for two days; after which it changed again to northeaſt, with ſtiff gales and rain, by which our progreſs was much retarded. The thermometer ſhewed that we had left the torrid zone, and were approaching our native climate, as it ſeldom roſe, in the warmeſt part of the day, higher than 65° or 66°, and in the morning, before ſunriſe, it was at 59° and 60°.

On the 26th of May, we ſaw a ſtrange ſail, for the firſt time, being a little French frigate, coming from *Nantes*, and going to *St. Domingo*.

On the next day, I went, together with the other captains, on board of the commodore, who had made the ſignal for our aſſembling on board the flag-ſhip; where, after

having formed a council, and finiſhed our matters of buſineſs, we were entertained during the remainder of the day, and returned in the evening, on board of our reſpective ſhips.

On the 29th, I had the pleaſure of entertaining them on board of my ſhip, where we all dined together; and on which occaſion, ſome alterations were made in the ſailing-orders. We were now in that part of the ocean called the graſs-ſea.

On the 1ſt of June, we ſaw, in the afternoon, a fleet of ſixteen ſhips of war, bearing down upon us from the eaſt, who cloſed round us in the evening, and forced us to keep in company with them, till midnight, after which, they again allowed us to continue our voyage. When the day appeared, they ſhewed Engliſh colours; but, from all the circumſtances, it appeared that they were a French fleet, cruiſing to intercept the Engliſh homewardbound Eaſt-Indiamen.

On the 9th, one of our ſailors fell from the mainyard upon the deck, and died ſhortly after, by the fall. He was the third man that

that we had loſt ſince our departure from the *Cape.*

On the 24th, we ſaw an eclipſe of the ſun, of which I could not obſerve either the beginning or the middle, but the end was, according to ſeveral obſervations, in the afternoon, at eleven minutes paſt four o'clock, true time; and as, according to the *Connoiſſance des Temps*, it was to be at *Paris* at forty-ſix minutes paſt five o'clock, which gave a difference in time with us, of one hour and thirty-five minutes, and ſhewed we were in longitude 355° 7′, while, by our reckoning, we were in 1° 47′ eaſt of *Teneriffe*, by which it appeared, that we were 5° 40′ more to the weſtward, than we had computed; this agreed with three obſervations of the diſtances of the ſun and moon, which I had made four days before: and although, on the 2d of July, on ſeeing the *Lizard*-point, we perceived no more than two degrees of weſterly miſreckoning, yet I truſt, that the obſervation approached very near the truth, and that, in ſailing eaſtward with ſtiff gales of wind, we had calculated too little; for three of the other ſhips,

in the diſtance of fifty-five leagues, between the firſt meeting with ſoundings, and the view of the land, computed to have ſailed a degree more than we; and which, on ſeeing the land, was found to be right *.

On the 29th of June, we firſt ſtruck ſoundings, at four o'clock, A.M. in one hundred fathoms, and on the 2d of July, we

* The Dutch manner of navigating, is peculiar to themſelves. They ſteer by the true compaſs, or rather endeavour ſo to do, by means of a ſmall moveable central card, which they ſet to the meridian: and whenever they diſcover the variation has altered 2½ degrees ſince the laſt adjuſtment, they again correct the central card. This is ſteering within a quarter of a point, without aiming at greater exactneſs. The officer of the watch, likewiſe, corrects the courſe for lee-way, by his own judgment, before it is marked down in the log-board. They heave no log. Their manner of computing their run, is by means of a meaſured diſtance of forty feet, along the ſhip's ſide: they take notice of any remarkable patch of froth, when it is abreaſt of the foremoſt end of the meaſured diſtance, and count half ſeconds till the mark of froth is abreaſt of the after-end. With the number of half ſeconds thus obtained, they divide the number 48, taking the product for the rate of ſailing in geographical miles in one hour, or the number of Dutch miles in four hours. It is not uſual to make any allowance to the ſun's declination, on account of being on a different meridian from that for which the tables are calculated: they, in general, compute the numbers juſt as they are found in the table. From all this, it is not difficult to conceive the reaſon why the Dutch are frequently above ten degrees out in their reckoning. *T.*

ſaw

ſaw the *Lizard*-point, bearing W.N.W. and on the 3d, at ſix o'clock, P.M. we met the States' cruiſing frigates, the *Waakzaamheid*, (the Vigilance), and the *Venus*, the former commanded by Captain MATTHEW SLOOT, and the latter, by Captain JACOB PETER VAN BRAAM, with which laſt we purſued our voyage on the following day, for the haven of our deſtination.

On the 8th of July, we all anchored behind the *Shingles*, as the wind was too much to the northward, to paſs the ſtraits of *Dover*, and to run into the North-ſea. We remained here till the 10th, when the wind coming round to the S.W. and S.S.W. we got under ſail; paſſed the ſtraits in the afternoon; parted from the frigate, and the three other ſhips, on the following day, at four o'clock, A.M. ſteering for the iſland of *Walcheren*, in company with the ſhip *Ganges*; came in ſight of the iſland at noon; and anchored at ſeven o'clock P.M. at the mouth of the paſſage called the *Deurloo*.

The day after, which was the 12th of July, we entered the *Deurloo*, caſt anchor at half paſt nine o'clock, cloſe to the buoy N° 2, and the following day, at noon, before

fore the town of *Fluſhing*, where we were obliged to remain, by calms and contrary winds, till the 22d, before we could get the ſhip as far as the road of *Rammekens*; and on the 23d, we were diſcharged from the Company's ſervice, by the directors RADERMACHER and VAN DE PERRE.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS,

Reſpecting the commiſſions and emoluments to be enjoyed by the ſervants of the Company at *Batavia*, and in the undermentioned adminiſtrations, ordained in the council of India, by reſolutions of the 26th and 28th of Auguſt, 1755.

SECTION. I. *Of the Caſhiers.*

ARTICLE I. BY this denomination is hereby ſolely underſtood, the grand caſhier of the Company, holding the general daily caſh, and the caſhier of general receipts; the caſhier of the paymaſter's office being conſidered rather as a diſtributer of wages, and thus not comprehended in the following orders; no more than the keeper of the Company's ſpecie; or the ſenior merchant of the caſtle, who has the keeping of the great treaſury; or the reſpective ſecretaries of any boards, or others, acting as caſhiers to ſubordinate ſocieties, already eſtabliſhed in this city, or hereafter to be eſtabliſhed.

ART. II. The grand caſhier, or the keeper of the daily caſh, ſhall receive of all monies paid into his hands, or which he ſhall pay away, one-half per cent, which ſhall be contributed by the payers and receivers; but the objects ſpecified hereunder, ſhall not be ſubject to the ſaid half per cent, but ſhall be paid, received, and accounted for *in toto*, namely:

1. The ſalaries and houſerents of the members of this government, and their ſecretaries, and of the brigadier, and the two ſenior merchants of the caſtle; and alſo the houſerents of the members of the council of juſtice, and of the reformed clergymen of the city.

2. The

2. The monies transferred, from time to time, to the great treaſury, by warrants from the governor general, or received by him for daily expenditure.

3. All that is paid to the chief of the *ſoldy-comptoir*, or paymaſter's office, for payment of board-wages.

4. All that is furniſhed to the chief *winkelier*, or purveyor, for payment of wages, &c.

5. The monies ariſing from the duties, collected by the collectors of exciſe and cuſtoms, and which are paid into the Company's treaſury.

6. The monies paid out of the treaſury, by reſolution of the government, to the board of *ſcheepens* of the city, for city-uſes, cleanſing the canals, &c.

7. The produce of bankrupt-eſtates paid into the Company's hands, by their aſſignees, for the benefit of their European creditors.

8. The capitals taken upon intereſt, from the orphan-chamber, board of dikes and ſluices, commiſſioners of eſtates, churches, and hoſpitals, and the intereſt paid upon them by the Company.

9. The monies remitted by bills of exchange to *Holland*, or to the *Cape of Good Hope*.

10. Loans from individuals to the Company, if any neceſſity ſhould ariſe for negociating ſuch.

11. Transfers of capitals at intereſt.

12. Penſions allowed to the widows of clergymen.

13. Penſions to the ſervants of the Company who have retired.

14. Caſh paid to the Company's ſervants, in lieu of their emoluments.

15. Monies paid to the Company on account of any old debts.

16. Money remitted by the *curator ad lites*, out of the eſtates of the deceaſed ſervants of the Company.

17. Caſh ariſing from ſales out of the different adminiſtrations, including the ſale of liquors, &c. in the proviſion-magazine, unſerviceable goods in the *ambagtſkwartier*, and goods belonging to the Company, ſold by the venduemaſter.

18. Whatever is paid, or remitted, to the hoſpitals, the *ſeminarium theologicum*, and the marine academy.

19. Whatever is paid to, or for the maintenance of, the Indian envoys, ſtate-priſoners, and native princes, together

gether with all others who may be reckoned to belong to them.

20. Poſtages of letters.

21. What is paid to the officers of the native militia, or trainbands, and to the city-officers; namely, to the weighmaſter, ſurveyor, ſuperintendent of the fiſhmarket, ſuperintendent of the ricemarket, aſſizer of the ſhambles, and the governeſs of the houſe of correction for females.

22. What is paid to the writer at *Tangerang*, for purchaſe of *paddee*, &c. for thoſe who lie in garriſon there.

23. What is paid at the *ambagtſkwartier*, the iſland *Onrust*, and the admiralty-wharf, for the maintenance of ſlaves, &c.

24. The board of the government-ſlaves.

25. The money which the ſervants of the Company receive, for proviſions, upon their departure for Holland.

26. The ſpecie that is delivered to the captains of ſhips, upon leaving India, for the purchaſe of refreſhments, upon touching at foreign ports.

27. Penalties and forfeitures incurred by ſentences of the reſpective courts of juſtice, and paid into the treaſury of the Company.

28. Sales of rice at the *bazar*, for the relief of the inhabitants.

29. Payments to bakers, for bread, &c. furniſhed to the government.

30. Whatever payments are required to be made, to the captains of ſhips, for purchaſe of ſalt-fiſh, *cadjang*, beans, tamarinds, &c. for their crews, upon the failure of ſupply of any of thoſe articles from the Company's ſtores.

31. And although the Palembangers, by reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1748, are liberated from the payment of the aforeſaid one-half per cent, upon the pepper and tin which they furniſh, yet the caſhier ſhall continue to receive the ſame, and it ſhall be carried to the account of thoſe articles, conformable to the tenor of the aforeſaid reſolution.

ART. III. Of all what is not included in the above exceptions, the caſhier ſhall receive the ſaid one-half per cent, and ſhall be bound to keep due note thereof, and ſhall deliver a ſtatement thereof every year to the director general, upon the cloſe of the books, in order that its amount may be divided, among thoſe to whom a ſhare therein

therein has been granted; namely, to the caſhier himſelf, one-fourth; to each of the two ſenior merchants of the caſtle, one-eighth; to the ſecond in the great treaſury, one-eighth; to the *negotie-comptoir*, or board of trade, three-ſixteenths; to the office of the director general, one-eighth; and to the examiners of the bybooks of *Batavia*, one-ſixteenth.

ART. IV. The caſhier of general receipts, ſhall equally receive one-half per cent, upon the amounts of the farmed duties, that is, to be paid by the farmers, ſo that the whole amount of the duties ſhall be made good to the Company. But the ſaid one-half per cent ſhall not be paid—

1. Of the further revenues, which are accounted for at the general monthly offreckoning of the receipts;

2. Nor of the money paid into the Company's grand treaſury.

ART. V. The above half per cent ſhall, at the termination of the year, be divided, two-thirds to the receiver general, and one-third to the caſhier of general receipts.

SECTION II. *Of the Adminiſtrators in general.*

ART. I. In this general denomination are included, not only thoſe who are uſually called warehouſekeepers, or ſuperintendents of the Company's warehouſes, ſtores, and magazines, but likewiſe all thoſe who have any adminiſtration over the Company's effects; as, the chiefs of the admiralty-wharf, of the *ambagtſkwartier*, of the arſenal, of the armoury, and of the ſtables, or the commandant and comptroller of equipment, the *fabriek*, the chief of the artillery, the warden of the armoury, and the ſtablekeeper, all whom ſhall enjoy the following advantages, and be ſubject to the following obligations and reſtrictions, which are common to them all.

ART. II. The common emoluments of all the adminiſtrations of the commercial warehouſes, the wharf, the *ambagtſkwartier*, the proviſion-magazine, the grain-magazine, the medical diſpenſary, the armoury, the artillery-yard, and the ſtables, ſhall conſiſt in the following:

1. That, although the five per cent formerly allowed on purchaſes is wholly aboliſhed, the adminiſtrators ſhall, nevertheleſs, be permitted to be the providers of ſuch goods,

goods, as are wanted in their reſpective warehouſes, and muſt be purchaſed for ſending off, &c. provided the ſamples thereof be laid before the director general, and the prices of them approved of by him.

2. They ſhall all likewiſe have, to be paid by the purchaſers of goods, that are ſold for ready money, out of their adminiſtrations, five per cent upon the amounts, but not upon what is furniſhed, on account of payments to the members of the government, and other privileged perſons, to the different boards, and to the hoſpitals, who ſhall continue to account for what they receive from the reſpective adminiſtrations, according to the preſent cuſtom, twice every year, upon the cuſtomary warrants.

ART. III. Notwithſtanding the uſual annual oath of purgation has been mortified and aboliſhed, yet the adminiſtrators in general, all together, and each one in particular, ſhall be bound diligently to obſerve, and accurately to attend to, the following duties of their offices:

1. That they ſhall have, each in their reſpective adminiſtrations, to act as carefully and economically, as if they were attending to their own individual concerns.

2. That, with reſpect to the goods they furniſh to the Company, they ſhall have ſtrictly to attend to the orders which are given to them, as well in regard to the prices, as to the qualities; and further, on this head, that they ſhall not only be ſatisfied with their juſt dues, but ſhall, as much as lies in their power, and as far as they can in their reſpective departments, take care, that others do not act diſhoneſtly towards the Company.

3. That, in regard to the overweights and overmeaſures, they ſhall not exceed the limitations made on that ſubject, and that in theſe, and alſo in the undermentioned off-reckonings and deficiencies, both at the receipt and delivery, and which are allotted to them as an honourable means of ſubſiſtence, they ſhall have to behave themſelves as perſons of honour and honeſty, without defrauding any one; or exacting, or taking, any thing more than what is juſtly due to them, or charging any one more than is right, much leſs defrauding any one in weights or meaſures, or being guilty of any adulteration, commixtion, or ſubſtitution of goods; neither ſhall they ſuffer, if they can prevent it, any one to be guilty of any of theſe enormities; but, on the contrary, ſhall as carefully watch againſt, and endeavour to prevent them, as they could or might do in their

their own affairs; the whole upon pain, that, whoever ſhall be found to have offended againſt this article, ſhall, without the leaſt favour or reſpect of perſons, be diſmiſſed, and declared incapable of ſerving the Company; and further puniſhed as ſhall be judged fit and neceſſary, according to the circumſtances of the caſe.

ART. IV. And in order that the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, and eſpecially the warehouſekeepers, be the better able duly to attend to the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties, they ſhall be bound, either at the receipt or diſpatch of goods, to be preſent, as often as their ſervice ſhall be required, without reſpect of days or hours; and for the performance of the ordinary work of their offices, they are required to attend on the four principal workingdays of the week, namely, Mondays, Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Fridays, from ſeven to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and from two to five or ſix o'clock in the afternoon, as alſo on the mornings of Wedneſdays and Saturdays at the ſame hours, on the afternoons of which days they ſhall likewiſe be bound to attend, if neceſſary, on the pain of forfeiting one month's wages for every inſtance of neglect, to the benefit of the common purſe of the penniſts.

ART. V. The commandant and comptroller of equipment (*equipagiemeeſter*), the *fabrick*, and the chief of the artillery, ſhall not only be conſidered as adminiſtrators of many of the warehouſes and ſtores in their ſeveral departments, but ſhall likewiſe be reſponſible for the conduct of their ſubordinate adminiſtrators, maiters, and wardens, with the proviſo that they ſhall be at liberty to take ſuch precautions in this reſpect as they may judge proper for their ſecurity and diſcharge, and alſo to make ſuch complaints and repreſentations as may be neceſſary, reſpecting any inattention, neglect, omiſſion, or other evil practices of thoſe inferior officers, which ſhall be immediately attended to and redreſſed.

ART. VI. Finally, all the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, in general, ſhall have to take care, that the quantities ariſing upon the overweights and meaſures, either upon receipt, or delivery, of ſuch goods as the Company reſerve excluſively to themſelves, ſhall not fall into the hands of private individuals, although the diſpoſal of them to ſuch perſons may be more advantageous, but as much as they ſhall have been able to ſave by the allowed overweights

upon

upon ſuch articles, namely, Japan copper, whether in bars, plates, or wire, all other copper, pepper, tin, coffee, ſaltpetre, and the finer ſpices, among which are included long pepper and cubebs, ſhall every year be delivered to the Company; nevertheleſs, if various prices for any of the above articles are given by the Company, the higheſt ſhall be paid to them; yet, with this proviſo, that, with reſpect to the pepper which is delivered to the Company by the adminiſtrators, they ſhall receive for that which they gain by the allowed overweights and offreckonings, in the ſame manner as heretofore, twelve rixdollars per picol, provided that they inſert in the warrant of payment, or annex to it, a ſpecific account, proving that the quantity delivered at that price does not exceed the allowed overweights and offreckonings; and with reſpect to the pepper which they further purchaſe out of the overweights and offreckonings allowed to the commanders of veſſels, they ſhall only have to pay for it, at the rate of nine rixdollars per picol. But all the other goods which they may obtain out of their allowed overweights and meaſures, they ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of as they think proper, either by ſale to private perſons, by ſhipping them off to other places, or by delivery to the Company.

SECTION III. *Of the Adminiſtrators in particular.*

ART. I. Beſides the above emoluments, which ſhall be common to all the adminiſtrations, the reſpective warehouſekeepers ſhall further enjoy thoſe that follow, each according to the circumſtances of his office, and to be divided in the manner preſcribed, and ſubject to the reſtrictions added to them.

ART. II. The commercial warehouſes.

By this denomination are underſtood the warehouſes on the weſt ſide, at the water-gate, on the iſlands *Onruſt* and *Kuyper*, and the ſugar and cloth warehouſes, conſtituting five different adminiſtrations, over very different ſpecies of merchandize.

ART. III. The warehouſes on the weſt ſide and at the water-gate ſhall, with reſpect to the advantages, be combined, and the following emoluments, allowed to the four adminiſtrators, ſhall be annually divided among

them in equal portions, each having an equal degree of reſponſibility.

1. The coffee delivered to the Company from the province of *Jaccatra*, ſhall be houſed in theſe warehouſes, according to the orders of the director general, and whether more or leſs ſhall be received at each, the profits upon the whole ſhall be on the common account, and for the common benefit of all the adminiſtrators, and ſhall conſiſt, according as the cuſtom is at preſent, in an allowed overweight, namely, that the coffee received at the rate of one hundred and forty pounds per picol, ſhall be delivered by bales of two picols, or two hundred and fifty pounds, with two pounds for draft, out of which difference the aforeſaid adminiſtrators ſhall have to make good all loſs in weight by drying, during the time that it ſhall lie under their care, likewiſe all damage and waſte, excepting ſuch as may occur by extraordinary circumſtances, or by accidents, which they could not prevent, and reſpecting which, the authority for their being allowed, ſhall depend upon the ſpecial approval of the government.

2. Tea on freight, forwarded to Holland, ſhall henceforward pay one ſkilling, or one-eighth of a rixdollar, per picol, for the trouble which the ſaid warehouſekeepers have concerning it, whether it be received into the warehouſes on the weſt ſide alone, or both in them, and in thoſe at the water-gate, as circumſtances may induce; and, on the other hand, the ſaid adminiſtrators ſhall be reſponſible for the damage and loſs which may happen to the tea, and which might have been prevented by proper care, from the time of the receipt, till that of the delivery.

3. The aforeſaid warehouſekeepers ſhall not have to claim any bonification of offreckonings, or diminutions, beyond the aforeſaid allowed emoluments, upon goods which they ſhall receive in their adminiſtrations, according to the preſent regulation, but ſhall have to anſwer for them, piece for piece, and pound for pound, excepting the ſpices, the underweights of which ſhall, if required, be teſtified upon oath before the ſupreme government, and be in conſequence allowed, according to circumſtances, by ſpecial reſolutions; and of which the ſurplus-weights ſhall be to the advantage of the Company; and

reſpecting

reſpecting which, all private trade, and all indirect conduct, is prohibited, upon pain of corporal puniſhment, and of death, according to circumſtances, agreeable to the ſtatutes which, in this reſpect, are left in their full force; as likewiſe the ancient order, that the adminiſtrators of the weſtſide warehouſes, on quitting their employments, or on being appointed to other offices, ſhall take an oath that they have acted with fidelity and honeſty, during the time of their adminiſtration.

ART. IV. The ſugar-warehouſe.

1. All the goods received therein ſhall be delivered out again, free of all deficiency and underweight.

2. Excepting, the long-accuſtomed allowance, of one pound per hundred for draft on the copper in plates, &c. ſheetlead, piglead, and vermillion.

3. And there ſhall be no further emoluments received there, than ſix ſtivers per picol, to be paid by the deliverer of the powder-ſugar, which is delivered to the Company, and ſerving for the purpoſes of trade, that is, of the two ſorts *cabeſſa* and *bariga*; and nine ſtivers upon each picol ſugar-candy, without any overweight or further charge upon the deliverer of any kind or ſort whatever.

4. The approval and valuation of the ſugars which are furniſhed, ſhall nevertheleſs remain, according to the preſent and ancient cuſtom, with the director general.

5. Laſtly, thoſe of the aforeſaid warehouſe ſhall have to take care, that the ſugar furniſhed to the Company, be not adulterated, mixed, or changed.

ART. V. The warehouſes upon the iſlands of *Onruſt*, and *de Kuyper*.

1. Reſpecting the article of pepper, which is one of the chief articles of this adminiſtration, the adminiſtrators ſhall—

a. Have to take care, together with their ſubordinate officers, that, according to ancient cuſtom, the duſt of ſuch pepper as is received unharped, and is harped in their warehouſes, be immediately, that is, on the ſame day that the harping ſhall have been effected, or at fartheſt within the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, either buried, or thrown away, at the place appointed for that purpoſe, in order that it be not again intermixed with the pepper in the warehouſes.

b. They ſhall likewiſe, excluſive of the undermention'd allowances, not be guilty of any extortion upon receip. or delivery, either by extravagant tares or any other invention; but, with reſpect to the duſtineſs of the pepper, which is occaſioned without their faults, by lying, drying up, and turning over, they ſhall be allowed to continue the former method, namely, to make ſeveral due trials, in order to form from them a calculatory allowance for duſt.

c. Upon their warehouſes becoming empty of pepper, they ſhall henceforward be allowed two per cent at once, and no more, nor any thing upon the ſhipment; for genetal waſte.

d. On the pepper which is brought from *Bantam* and *Palembang*, by the Company's ſhips, they ſhall have the one-half per cent overweight with which they receive it, and be allowed to deliver it off, pound for pound, without any overweight.

e. On the other hand, on the pepper which is brought by and delivered to them from native veſſels, they ſhall be allowed to take a draft of five pounds upon each weigh of about three hundred pounds, to be borne by the deliverers, agreeable to the reſolution of government of the 11th of Auguſt, 1752, in order to indemnify them for the greater hazard they run by pilferage, waſte, and crumbling, and for the charges they incur towards the deliverers; and on the contrary, they ſhall be anſwerable for all miſconduct of their ſervants and inferiors towards the natives at ſuch receipts.

2. The Cheribon coffee, which is henceforward to be received by the ſhips' commanders at the original places of ſhipment, at the rate of one hundred and thirty pounds per picol, and delivered at the warehouſes here at one hundred and twenty-eight pounds per picol, may be delivered again by the adminiſtrators with an overweight of one pound, or at the rate of one hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; and they ſhall, moreover, upon the warehouſes becoming empty of coffee, be allowed an offreckoning of two per cent, and no more, whether it ſhall have been for a long or a ſhort time under their charge.

3. Saltpetre ſhall henceforward be received here, with two per cent overweight, groſs, and be ſhipped, ſold, or furniſhed, ſimply groſs, without overweight; and upon the

e whole quantity being taken out of the warehouſes, an allowance ſhall be equally made of two per cent for waſte, &c. in this article.

4. The caliatourwood, from *Coromandel*, ſhall be received with one per cent overweight, and the ſapanwood, from *Siam* and *Bima*, together with the ſandalwood, from other places, with one half per cent, and ſhall be delivered neat, without overweight; and upon the whole quantity being taken out of the warehouſes, an allowance of two per cent ſhall, in the ſame manner, be given for waſte.

5. Upon the areca, the adminiſtrators ſhall enjoy an offreckoning of two per cent upon the parcels which are weighed off within the year, and three per cent upon thoſe that remain in the warehouſes beyond that time; and in the ſame manner, in the other adminiſtrations where this article is received, as was granted by the reſolution of government of the 28th of December, 1754.

ART. VI. The new cloth-warehouſes.

1. The adminiſtrator of theſe warehouſes, ſhall receive for every cheſt of opium, without diſtinction as to ſize, delivered out of this adminiſtration to the privileged ſociety, without having any thing to do with thoſe who buy opium from the ſociety, one rixdollar and a half, and no more, which ſhall be paid by the ſociety.

2. As, by reſolution of this government of the 9th of May, 1752, it was determined, that, from that time forward, the public ſales of the Company's goods in the city, ſhould be held at the houſe of the venduemaſter, agreeable to that reſolution, five per cent of their amount ſhall be deducted, to the charge of the Company, and to be divided in the following manner: namely, three per cent to the venduemaſter, and one-half per cent to his auctioneer, provided that they ſhall each be anſwerable, *pro rato*, for the debts of the purchaſers, that is, the former for ſix-ſeventhſ, and the latter for one-ſeventh; and of the remaining one and a half per cent, one per cent ſhall be given to the ſenior merchants of the caſtle, that is one-half per cent to each; and the other one-half per cent, to the adminiſtrator in the cloth-warehouſe.

ART. VII. The retail-warehouſe.

1. The adminiſtrator in this adminiſtration, ſhall regulate himſelf, in the ſale of goods, by the market-price of the city, and ſhall form a monthly price-current, ſubject

to the approbation of the director general, provided European articles yield an advance of no leſs than thirty, and Indian goods an advance of twenty-five per cent; but the members of the government ſhall be at liberty to pay for ſuch goods as they take out of this adminiſtration, for their uſe, at the rate of two-thirds of the cuſtomary advance which would have been made on the ſale.

2. The particular emoluments of the adminiſtrator, ſhall conſiſt in the per centages for waſte, &c. which he ſhall henceforward be allowed to take, in the ſtead of thoſe ſettled by reſolution of the 16th of January, 1682, and ſhall be as follow, to wit: upon woollens, velvets, and other European manufactures, which are delivered by the ell, and not by whole pieces, four and one-half per cent.

Upon mace, cinnamon, and nutmegs, ſold and furniſhed, ſeven and one-half per cent.

Upon cloves, four and one-half per cent.

Upon colours, drugs, ſtarch, and wares of that deſcription, ſeven and one-half per cent.

3. And although this adminiſtrator ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of the ſpices ariſing from the above allowed overweights, among the articles ſold for ready money, yet he ſhall be ſpecially bound not to ſell, either on his own or any other account, any more ſpices, or participate directly or indirectly therein; and he ſhall, moreover, be required to keep a ſtrict watch over ſuſpected purchaſers, even if the ſpices be only fetched by the ſingle pound, and againſt all frauds, as much as may be in his power, agreeable to the reſolution of this government of the 25th of July, 1702.

ART. VIII. The grain-magazine.

The adminiſtrators in this magazine ſhall, with reſpect to the rice, content themſelves with the one hundred pounds allowed upon each laſt, by reſolution of the 16th of October, 1744; and further, upon the paddee, cadjang, beans, peas, wheat, rye, and biſcuit, five per cent and no more: the paddee to be made good by the bundle or ſheaf, in the ſame way, and of the ſame weight, as when received, that is, twenty pounds per ſheaf, or, after deduction of the abovementioned five per cent for waſte, nineteen pounds.

ART. IX. The iron-magazine.

Inſtead of the offreckoning, regulated by the reſolutions

ons of the 17th of October, 1692, and the 25th of October, 1695, the following allowances ſhall be given in this adminiſtration, and which ſhall be the only ſpecial emoluments of it, namely:

four per cent upon iron in bars;
four per cent upon iron-hoops;
ſix per cent upon lockplates;
two per cent upon ſteel;
three per cent upon nails.

And the prohibition of the ſale, for ready money, of iron, ſteel, and nails, as well the licenſed ſale of wrought iron utenſils, out of the iron-magazine, contained in the reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1754, continue both in force.

ART. X. The proviſion-magazine.

1. The barrels of beef, pork, and butter, the leagers, half leagers, whole and half awms of liquid wares, ſhall be accounted for, by pounds and cans, as by the preſent cuſtom, without further offreckoning.

2. In future, likewiſe, all empty caſks, leagers, &c. ſhall be accounted for, excepting the caſks, which are ſold together with their contents, at the preſent cuſtomary quarterly ſales, agreeable to the reſolution of the 23d of Auguſt, 1754, as alſo the beer caſks delivered to members of the government, upon account of conſumption or payment.

3. The adminiſtrators ſhall continue to enjoy the ancient cuſtomary perquiſites, conſiſting of one barrel of Frieſland butter, one leager of French wine, twenty-four bundles of wax candles, and one hundred and forty-four pounds of tamarinds, for both, every year.

4. Upon delivery, or accounting for beer, wine, and other liquors, as likewiſe vinegar, and oil, in as far as the latter is received from other places, but not upon train-oil, and arrack, nor upon the cocoanut-oil purchaſed here, they ſhall be allowed to write off, ſix per cent; and upon receipt, nothing ſhall be ſtated differently from what has been received, either as to quality or quantity, which, together with a due attention to the unadulterated ſtate of both dry and liquid goods, is ſpecially conſidered as part of the duty of their office.

5. They ſhall alſo not receive any thing elſe than good liquors, but ſhall give up the reſt upon receipt, either for ſale, or throwing away.

6. But upon the becoming four of any caſks receive in good order, without their fault or neglect, they ſhall have to make ſeparate declarations thereof, under preſentation of oath, and requeſt an offreckoning thereof, and they ſhall not reckon any per centage upon ſuch caſks.

7. Upon liquors received in bottles, they ſhall be allowed to write off, five per cent, and no more.

8. Upon cotton, wax, and ſalt, alſo, five per cent.

9. Upon wax candles, two per cent.

10. For each leager of arrack ſold and delivered to the Company, but not of ſuch as are given in payment of exciſe duties, they ſhall receive one ducatoon from the deliverer, that is, one rixdollar and five-eighths; but they ſhall not be allowed any thing for leakage or waſte, to which they ſhall have to pay proper care.

ART. XI. The armoury.

The warden ſhall not, after the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1755, charge any part of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by reſolution of the 22d of March, 1753, upon what is repaired, nor upon what is purchaſed or ſold, but inſtead thereof, he ſhall have, once a year, the ſum of one thouſand rixdollars, or two thouſand four hundred gilders, out of the caſh of the Company, under ſuch penalties, with reſpect to infidelity, or fraudulent conduct, as have been before mentioned, with regard to the adminiſtrators in general, SECT. II. ART. III.

ART. XII. The artillery.

The chief of the artillery, or the major, ſhall equally, inſtead of the five per cent formerly allowed to him, by reſolution of the 12th of December, 1752, upon the materials, &c. uſed, receive, once a year, in lieu thereof, the ſum of one thouſand rixdollars, or two thouſand four hundred gilders, out of the Company's caſh, provided he pays proper attention that every thing be done in his department to the beſt advantage of the Company, and nothing uſed needleſsly, waſted, or neglected, under ſuch penalties as are before detailed.

ART. XIII. The *Ambagts-kwartier*.

The reſpective maſters therein ſhall continue to enjoy the perquiſites given to them by reſolution of the 6th of March, 1752, conſiſting, beſides the fixed number of coolies, of the following:

1. To the maſter-carpenter, five per cent upon the timber

timber and nails uſed under his direction, in the ſervice of the Company, and which he ſhall have to deliver to the Company at fifty per cent advance, in order that if any timber or nails be found to have been otherwiſe diſpoſed of by him, they may be aſcertained to have been obtained in an unlawful manner.

2. To the maſter-bricklayer, alſo five per cent upon the materials uſed under his direction, in the ſervice of the Company, to be delivered in the ſame manner to the Company.

3. To the maſter-ſmith, plumber, and brazier, beſides the ſettled per centages for waſte, namely, thirteen per cent upon iron, ſteel, and lockplates, and ten per cent upon copper and lead, five per cent on the metals, &c. uſed, equally to be delivered, with an advance of fifty per cent, to the Company.

4. But as the emoluments of the maſter-plumber and brazier are rather trifling, and thoſe of the maſter-bricklayer are very conſiderable, the latter ſhall pay, out of the benefits upon his perquiſites, two hundred rixdollars to the maſter-plumber, and one hundred rixdollars to the maſter-brazier.

5. The maſter-gunpowder-maker, ſhall be allowed to charge twelve pounds tare for ever double bag of ſaltpetre, agreeable to the reſolution of the 16th of January, 1748.

ART. XIV. The admiralty-wharf.

The ſervants in this department ſhall likewiſe continue to enjoy a part of the emoluments granted to them, both at the wharf and at the iſland *Onruſt*, by the reſolution of the 2d of June, 1752, namely:

1. The maſter at *Onruſt*, and the maſter-carpenters, coopers, and ſmiths, ſhall, each in their reſpective departments, have five per cent upon what they work up, and an hundred per cent advance thereon; while the maſter-cooper, ſhall have to make good to the maſter-mapmaker, one-third of his ſhare.

2. The maſter-ſailmaker, and the ſuperintendent of the rope-warehouſe ſhall alſo have five per cent, to be delivered to the Company at invoice-prices, and, to be divided, one-half to the commandant, one-ſixth to the vice-commandant, one-ſixth to the maſter-ſail-maker, and one-ſixth to the ſuperintendent of the rope-warehouſe; with this proviſo, that the ſaid five per cent ſhall not be taken upon

upon cables and heavy cordage, nor upon timber for maſts, nor upon caſks, anchors, or grapnels, all which remain exempted therefrom.

3. The maſter at *Onruſt*, ſhall retain, as a perquiſite for himſelf, the providing of the boxes for copper, out of the remnants of wood, at the uſual price of fourteen ſtivers apiece.

4. The wages of the caulkers employed under the maſter-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf, being aboliſhed, fifty able menſlaves of the Company, ſhall be employed in that work, who ſhall remain night and day upon the wharf, and for whom a place ſhall be appropriated, while no more ſhall be charged for each of the ſaid ſlaves than *f.*27 1, for clothing, per annum.

5. The monthly wages of the ſlaves appointed by the ſaid reſolution of the 2d of June, 1752, for the ſervants of the admiralty-wharf, to wit:

for the bookkeeper of equipment	12
for the under-bookkeeper	6
for the deputy of the commandant	6
for the firſt journeyman-carpenter, at the admiralty-wharf	6
for the ſecond ditto	4
for the firſt journeyman of the train	5
for the ſecond ditto	3
for the firſt journeyman-ſmith	4
for the firſt journeyman-cooper	3
for the firſt journeyman-mapmaker	3
for the firſt journeyman-ſailmaker	4
for the ſecond ditto	2
for the mate of the wharf	6
for the boatſwain of ditto	4

ſhall be withheld, if it be found that the abovementioned number of ſlaves be not actually employed at that place, in the ſervice of the Company.

6. The number of hired ſlaves, at the iſland *Onruſt*, ſhall proviſionally be fixed at four hundred, and the reſt ſhall be fetched away; and the number of the Company's own ſlaves ſhall be kept at two hundred and fifty.

SECTION IV. *Of what the ſeveral Adminiſtrators ſhall have to pay out again.*

ART 1. *a.* All the adminiſtrators hereunder named, but

but no other, ſhall have to make good ſundry payments, out of their beforementioned allowed perquiſites, but no more, than is here ſpecially detailed, namely:

b. To the ſenior merchants of the caſtle, and to the commercial clerks, in order to contribute towards affording them a proper means of ſubſiſtence, yearly, the following, viz:

The adminiſtrators of the weſtſide, 225 rixdollars to the ſenior merchants of the caſtle, and 25 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

The adminiſtrators at the water-gate, 225 and 25 rixdollars, as above.

The adminiſtrators of the ſugar-warehouſe, 270 and 30 rixdollars, as above.

The adminiſtrators of the iſlands *Onruſt* and *de Kuyper*, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The adminiſtrators in the cloth-warehouſe, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The adminiſtrators of the grain-magazine, 180 and 20 rixdollars, as above.

The adminiſtrators of the proviſion-magazine, 540 and 60 rixdollars, as above.

The caſhier of the daily caſh, 2,250 and 250 rixdollars, as above. Together, 4,410 rixdollars to the ſenior merchants of the caſtle, and 490 rixdollars to the commercial clerks.

c. The warehouſe-keepers ſhall alſo have to pay to the commiſſioners in the warehouſes, ſpecially named hereunder, and to no others, and likewiſe not to any extraordinary commiſſioners, clerks, or others, under any denomination, or pretext, whatever; in order, that the ſaid commiſſioners may equally have an aſſiſtant means of ſubſiſtence, beſides their actual wages; namely:

to the commiſſioners of the weſtſide .	rixdollars	250
to the commiſſioners at the water-gate .	ditto	250
to the commiſſioners in the ſugar-warehouſe,	ditto	300
to the commiſſioners at *Onruſt* and *de Kuyper*,	ditto	300
to the commiſſioners in the treaſury, to be made good by the adminiſtrator of the retail-warehouſe	ditto	200
to the commiſſioners in the grain-magazine,	ditto	200
to the commiſſioners in the proviſion-magazine	ditto	300
together,	rixdollars	1,800

ART.

ART. 11. All fees that ſhall be given, beſides the above, by the aforeſaid adminiſtrators, to European, or other ſervants, writers, &c. in their employ in the warehouſes, ſhall depend wholly upon their good will, in order that thoſe inferior officers may be the more attentive, properly to perform their ſervice; the more ſo, as they have to anſwer for their conduct, and are reſponſible for every thing.

SECTION V. *Of the great Winkelier.*

1. The payment of the monthly wages ſhall henceforward be allowed to be made wholly in ready money, inſtead of half in money, and half in goods, as was formerly cuſtomary; but the rixdollar of forty-eight heavy ſtivers ſhall be carried to account, at ſixty-four light ſtivers, according to ancient practice.

2. Inſtead of the ſix ſtivers per rixdollar, formerly deducted, upon the half of the wages paid in goods, in order to receive that half likewiſe, in ſpecie, three ſtivers ſhall henceforward be deducted, per rixdollar, upon the whole.

3. Of theſe three ſtivers, two ſhall be carried to account of the Company, and the remaining one is to be for him, and his ſecond, namely, two thirds for the former, and one third for the latter, for their further ſupport; and nothing more ſhall be charged or deducted, with regard to the pay of the Company's ſervants.

Given at *Batavia*, in the caſtle, this 28th of Auguſt, anno 1755.

No. II.

GENERAL REGULATION,

Reſpecting the commiſſions, and emoluments, of the Company's ſervants, and ſundry orders to be obſerved at the ſeveral out-factories.

SECTION I. *Of the Factories in general.*

ART. 1. The reſpective caſhiers ſhall enjoy one half per cent, upon all monies paid in monthly payments, upon

upon warrants; namely, for cooley-hire, purchaſe of materials, and other neceſſaries for daily uſe, and whatever has relation thereto; but the ſaid half per cent, ſhall be wholly borne by the reſpective providers of goods, or receivers of money.

ART. II. The adminiſtrators and maſters of the working people, ſhall, each in his reſpective department, enjoy five per cent, either in overweight, overmeaſure, or in money, from the provider, upon the purchaſe of all ſmall articles, required for the ſervice of the marine department, repairs of veſſels, and likewiſe for the neceſſary repairs and additions to the public works; and for ordinary conſumption, provided they charge nothing for loſs in weight or meaſure; but upon goods, on which the ſaid five per cent is not enjoyed, they may charge five per cent to the Company, provided, that, in accounting for the uſe made of the aforeſaid goods, they ſtate the real quantities employed.

ART. III. The governors, and directors, alſo commandants, and ſeconds in governments, directorſhips, or commanderies, but no inferior chiefs or ſervants, ſhall be allowed to take what they want, for their own uſe, out of the Company's warehouſes, upon paying fifty per cent advance upon European, and thirty per cent upon Indian commodities, ſpices excepted, provided they make a moderate uſe of this privilege.

ART. IV. To the reſpective adminiſtrators, warehouſekeepers, or ſhips' officers, who deliver goods at *Batavia*, ſhall be allowed ſuch deficiencies as are fixed by this regulation, together with the offreckonings, ſettled by reſolution of the 15th of Auguſt, 1752, and amplifications thereof, provided they do not gain any thing by the purchaſe, as it is the intention, that only one of theſe advantages, and not both, ſhall be enjoyed at the ſame time.

ART. V. The reſpective maſters ſhall further be allowed, for waſte, thirteen per cent upon the iron worked up, eight per cent upon the ſteel and lead worked up, and five per cent upon the copper worked up, provided that what is wrought be weighed by commiſſioners.

ART. VI. The chiefs of the reſpective factories, and the comptrollers of equipment, at thoſe places whither ſhips are diſpatched, to *Batavia*, or to other places in India, ſhall be allowed to ſhip, for their own account, in a ſhip of 150 feet, the quantity of two laſts; in a ſhip of 136 feet, the quantity of one laſt and a half; and in a ſhip

ſhip of 130 feet, the quantity of one laſt; in ſugar, rice, arrack, or any other produce of the country, or articles of trade, which are not prohibited; with the faculty, in thoſe factories where piecegoods are purchaſed as mentioned below, for each laſt ſo allowed, to put on board, namely, from *Coromandel*, one package of the ſize of ten corgees ſalempores, and from *Bengal*, and other places (*Surat*, and the other factories where the Company reſerve to themſelves the excluſive trade in piecegoods, excepted), two packages of the ſame ſize; the whole, however, under ſuch reſtrictions, as are detailed in the amplication of the regulation of the year 1743, reſpecting the luggage of the ſeamen, dated the 16th of September, 1745, and the poſterior order, relative to the export and import of piecegoods, dated the 29th of March, 1754.

SECTION II. *Of* AMBOYNA.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall enjoy—

Five per cent upon the ſale of cottons, and other goods, ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money; two thirds to the firſt, and one third to the ſecond in command.

ART. II. The collective ſervants of the Company, as undermentioned, ſhall have twenty per cent, overweight, upon the cloves collected, provided they deliver them to the Company, at the purchaſe-prices; and the ſame ſhall be diſtributed in the following proportions, viz:

	100th parts.
to the governor	40
to the ſecond	12
to the captain commandant	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and enſigns	2
to the chief of *Saparoua*	7
to the chief of *Hila*	7
to the fiſcal	6
to the chief of *Harouko*	3
to the chief of *Larike*	3
to the chief of *Bouro*	2
to the ſecretary of the council of polity, the garriſon book-keepers, the caſhier, and the purveyor, each 2, thus	8
to the reſident of *Manipa*	1

to

(97)

to the ſecretary of the council of juſtice	1
to the writer of the commercial ledger	1
to the writer of the military ledger	1
	100

SECTION II. *Of* BANDA.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall enjoy five per cent upon the ſale of cottons, and other goods, ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The collective ſervants of the Company, as undermentioned, ſhall have ſeven per cent, overweight, upon the nutmegs collected, provided they deliver them to the Company at the purchaſe prices; and the ſame ſhall be diſtributed in the following proportions, viz:

	100th parts.
to the governor	42
to the ſecond	14
to the captain	4
to the captain lieutenant	2
to the lieutenants and enſigns	4
to the chief of *Pulo Ay*	8
to the fiſcal	8
to the chief of *Wayer*	3
to the ſecretary of the council of polity	3
to the garriſon-book-keeper	3
to the reſident of *Ourien*	3
to the firſt clerk of the council of polity, to the writer of the commercial ledger, and caſhier, to the writer of the military ledger, and purveyor, to the ſecretary of common pleas, &c. each, one and a half, thus	6
	100

ART. III. Upon the nutmegs ſhipped off, ſix per cent ſhall be written off, for loſs in weight by drying; and what is profited thereby, ſhall, under the reſtriction mentioned reſpecting the overweights, be one half for the benefit

benefit of the governor, and the other half for the benefit of the perſon in whoſe keeping the nutmegs ſhall have been, till ſhipped off to *Batavia*.

ART. IV. The chief adminiſtrator, together with the chiefs of *Lonthoir*, *Pulo Ay*, and *Wayer*, ſhall, with regard to the mace and nutmegs collected by them reſpectively, be allowed the following charges:

For receiving, treading down, and embaling of a whole or an half *ſockel*.* of mace, twelve ſtivers.

For ſhipping off ditto, ſix ſtivers.

For every hundred ſockels, one piece of bagging, and one pound of ſealing-wax.

For each ſockel, a mat; and twelve per cent for the loſs by treading down; likewiſe, five bundles of rattans of 30 ps. each, to bind round them.

For receiving and preparing with lime, of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight ſtivers.

For garbling of 1000 pounds nutmegs, three gilders.

For ſhipping off 3000 pounds nutmegs, two gilders eight ſtivers.

For burning of 1000 pounds nutmegs, eight ſtivers.

For preparing 1000 pounds nutmegs, one barrel of lime.

ART. V. Beſides which, the chief of *Lonthoir* ſhall have, for the keeping of an orembay, and the neceſſary ſlaves, *f.*120 per annum, for which, however, the ſhed for the orembay, ſhall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, for which he ſhall alſo provide the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, painting, and cleaning of the Company's buildings, ſixty gilders per annum.

For bamboos, for daily conſumption, *f.*36 per annum, and *f.*24 for eſtabliſhing a guardhouſe at *Batoe Hollandą*, for the convenience of the people, ſtationed to look out for the ſhips that arrive, beſides 1000 pieces of atap, which the Company furniſh.

ART. VI. In the ſame manner, the chief of *Pulo Ay* may charge:

For keeping of an orembay, and the neceſſary ſlaves,

* A kind of ſeron, weighing about 160lb.

*f.*292,

*f.*10 *l*, for which the ſhed ſhall be kept free of expence to the Company.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, for which he ſhall equally provide the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, painting, and cleaning the Company's buildings, juſt as at *Lonthoir*, *f.* 60.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*36, per annum.

For the eſtabliſhment of a guardhouſe, at the weſt rock, for the convenience of the watchmen, as at *Lonthoir*, excluſive of *f.*1000 pieces of atap, *f.*24 per annum.

For keeping the ſewers in repair, and the ciſterns clean, *f.*36, per annum.

ART. VII. The reſident of *Wayer*, ſhall alſo have:

For keeping an orembay, in the ſame manner as at *Lonthoir*, *f.*120.

For every laſt of goods received at the factory, *f.*2 8, for diſcharging the ſame, providing the neceſſary craft.

For whitewaſhing and cleaning the Company's buildings, *f.*36.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*24, per annum.

ART. VIII. The reſident of *Ourien*, ſhall have:

For whitewaſhing, plaiſtering, &c. of the fort, *f.*24, per annum.

For bamboos, for daily uſe, *f.*19 4.

ART. IX. The commiſſioners annually ſent to the ſoutheaſtern, and ſouthweſtern iſles, ſhall have, to defray their expences, five per cent upon the ſale of piece-goods, and upon the purchaſe of goods, and of ſlaves; likewiſe, when the number of ſlaves required, for the Company, are procured, they ſhall each be allowed to bring with them three or four ſlaves for themſelves: and they may carry backwards and forwards, and trade in ſuch articles as the Company do not traffic in, without prejudice to the Company.

ART. X. The ſecretary of the council of polity ſhall receive, for regiſtering, and acquitting the paſſes of the veſſels belonging to free inhabitants and natives, twelve ſtivers for a greater paſs, and two ſtivers for a leſſer paſs.

ART. XI. Inſtead of what was before allowed to the governor, out of the import-duties, he ſhall henceforward receive out of them, *f.*240 per month, for table-money.

ART. XII. And, likewiſe, for the ſuperintendence of the affairs and money of the orphanchamber, one-half per cent of the intereſts of the capitals lent out by that body *.

SECTION IV. *Of* TERNATE.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government, ſhall have five per cent upon the ſale, by auction, of piecegoods and other articles, for guarantee of the money;

And one per cent upon the gold collected, ſhall be divided between the governor and the collector.

ART. II. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive *f.*2,400 per annum, to defray his expences, in entertaining the native princes.

ART. III. The ſecretary ſhall have twenty-four ſtivers for the greater, and ſix ſtivers for the leſſer, paſſes.

SECTION V. *Of* MACASSER.

ART. I. The two firſt ſervants of the Company in this government ſhall have five per cent upon the ſale of piecegoods, &c. ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money.

ART. II. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive in one ſum, three thouſand gilders per annum, in order to defray his expences on entertaining the native princes and nobles; and no proviſions, or neceſſaries, ſhall be charged in account to the Company, as uſed on ſuch occaſions.

ART. III. Of the overmeaſure of grain, the Company ſhall be made good for one ganting, one ganting and a quarter of 7½lb. and out of the other quarter, ſhall be made good the waſte, and the remainder ſhall be divided between the governor, the head-adminiſtrator, and the *diſpenſier* or purveyor, and the latter ſhall not be allowed to bring in any undermeaſure.

SECTION VI. *Of* JAVA'S NORTHEAST COAST.

ART. I. The Company's civil ſervants ſhall collectively

* The proprietors of the nutmeg-plantations in *Banda* have, generally, been adventurers, with little or no capital; who, favoured by the governors, have purchaſed the plantations, by borrowing one-half of the purchaſe-money of the orphanchamber, and leaving the remainder upon mortgage of the land.

receive

receive five per cent upon the farms of the cuſtomduties, and other royalties.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made in the following manner, viz:

	100th parts.
At *Samarang*;	
to the governor	30
to the head adminiſtrator	10
to the two merchants	10
to the four junior merchants	8
to the tranſlator	2
At *Soeracarta*;	
to the chief	10
to the ſecond	6
to the military book-keeper	2
to the tranſlator	2
At *Sourabaya*;	
to the chief	10
to the adminiſtrator	5
to the fiſcal	3
to the tranſlator	2
	100

ART. III. The governor ſhall, moreover, likewiſe retain what the ſtrand-regents together contribute to him, to the amount of one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen Spaniſh dollars.

ART. IV. The particular emoluments of the reſidents at the ſubordinate factories, *Tagal*, *Damak*, *Joana*, *Rembang*, *Japara*, and *Griſſee*, ſhall conſiſt in what they can, by good conduct and economy, ſave out of the following allowances:

1. Of the allowed 100 pounds overweight upon every coyang of rice, purchaſed for the Company, according to the reſolutions of the 30th of November, 1747, and the 9th of July, 1754, as no loſs may be brought to account upon grain.

2. Of the *f.* 5, fixed for charges upon every laſt of rice ſhipped off, and the further fixed charges, and freights.

3. The expedition money for the paſſes, provided it do not exceed the amount of the ſtamp required for ſuch paſs; the paſſes from *Tagal* and *Rembang*, to the oppoſite ſhore, remain, however, fixed at five rixdollars.

SECTION VII. *Of* BANJERMASSING.

The reſident here, ſhall receive five per cent upon the pepper purchaſed.

SECTION VIII. *Of* TIMOR.

ART. I. The chief of this ſettlement ſhall have, inſtead of what was before allowed to him out of the duties of import and export, in one ſum, two thouſand gilders per annum, for defrayment of his expences.

ART. II. Upon the piecegoods ſold here by auction, the chief and his ſecond ſhall have five per cent for guarantee of the money, two thirds to the former, and one third to the latter.

SECTION IX. *Of* JAPAN.

ART. I. The Company's ſervants here ſhall have, for defrayment of their heavy expences, five per cent upon the whole of both ſales and purchaſes, which ſhall be diſtributed as follows, viz:

	100th parts.
to the chief going away	44
to the chief coming on	22
to the merchant warehouſekeeper . . .	14
to the junior merchant, commercial book-keeper	10
to the penniſts	10

ART. II. The chief ſhall further receive, as a compenſation for the extraordinary charges which he is obliged to incur every year, in clothes and otherwiſe, upon the journey to the court of *Jedo*, three thouſand eight hundred gilders per annum.

SECTION X. *Of* CHINA.

ART. I. The ſupercargoes ſhall, henceforward, not charge any more for commiſſion, than two per cent upon the purchaſe of goods, and one-half per cent upon the gold collected; but nothing upon ſales, or upon ſpecie; and the ſaid commiſſions ſhall be divided, as ſhall be every year ſettled by the inſtruction, and the fiſcal and ſecretary ſhall receive a portion double to that of the penniſts.

ART.

ART. II. The ſupercargoes, and further ſervants, are allowed to bring with them, on their return, one thouſand picols of tea, at the freight of two and a half rix-dollars per picol, neat tea; and on going, they ſhall be allowed to take with them, from here, the 60 laſts as before allowed, namely:

the director	20 laſts.
the firſt ſupercargo, as ſenior merchant . .	13
the ſecond, as merchant	7
the third, ditto	4
the fourth, as junior merchant	3
the fifth, ditto	2
the ſixth and ſeventh	3
the eighth and ninth	3
the reſt	5
	60 laſts.

SECTION XI. *Of* COCHINCHINA *.

ART. I. The ſupercargoes ſhall only charge, for commiſſion, five per cent, upon the purchaſe of goods; but nothing upon ſales, or upon ſpecie.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made agreeable to the inſtructions given with them.

ART. III. The ſupercargoes are allowed to take with them, from here, the number of laſts before allowed, namely:

the firſt, as merchant	7 laſts.
the ſecond, if a merchant	5
if a junior merchant	4
the third, as junior merchant	3

SECTION XII. *The Voyage between* SURAT *and* CHINA †.

The ſupercargo of the ſhip that goes from *Surat* to *China*, ſhall, together with the director, equally and jointly, receive five per cent upon the goods purchaſed at *Surat*, but not upon the tin, or other goods, taken in on the paſſage; neither ſhall any thing be received upon the

* No trade has, for many years, been carried on to *Cochinchina*, by the Dutch.

† This voyage has equally been long abandoned.

ſale, which ſhall be under the joint management of the ſupercargo, and thoſe in *China*.

SECTION XIII. *Of* MALACCA.

ART. I. The Company's qualified ſervants ſhall, henceforward, have one fourth part of the ſix per cent cuſtom-duty, not including the ſtamp, anchorage, and paſſage duties.

ART. II. The diſtribution thereof, ſhall be made in the following manner, namely:

	100th parts.
to the governor	40
to the ſecond	15
to the fiſcal	10
to the ſhebandar, or receiver	10
to the chief of the military	5
to the winkelier	5
to another junior merchant	5
to the ſecretary of the council of juſtice	2½
to the comptroller of equipment	2½
to the writer of the commercial ledger	2½
to the diſpenſier	2½
	100

ART. III. The governor ſhall, moreover, receive for every picol of tin purchaſed, one gilder, including that of *Pera*.

ART. IV. The commiſſioners to either ſhore of the ſtraits, ſhall have five per cent upon the purchaſe and ſale of goods, alſo one per cent upon the gold they collect, and they ſhall defray their own travelling expences.

SECTION XIV. *Of* SUMATRA'S WEST COAST.

ART. I. The commandant and both the adminiſtrators ſhall have five per cent upon the goods ſold, upon credit, to the Padang merchants, each in equal proportions, provided they guarantee the debts; but if the firſt mentioned declines to have any ſhare therein, which ſhall be left to his choice, then both the adminiſtrators ſhall divide the whole equally between them.

ART. II. Upon the ſame condition, the reſident of

Pulo

Pulo Chinco, ſhall have five per cent upon the goods ſold by him, upon credit, to the merchants.

ART. III. The reſident of *Baros*, ſhall be allowed to deduct five per cent from the firſt quality benzoin and camphor, purchaſed by him, provided he remain anſwerable for the goodneſs of the article.

SECTION XV. *Of* BENGAL.

ART. I. Upon the purchaſe of opium, a commiſſion ſhall be charged of five per cent, which ſhall be divided between the director, the head adminiſtrator, and the chief at *Patna*, in the following manner, viz:

To the director, four tenths; to the head adminiſtrator, two tenths; to the chief at *Patna*, three tenths; and to the ſecond there, one tenth.

Item. Upon the ſale of goods ſold by auction, five per cent, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the director, and one-third to the ſecond.

ART. II. The firſt in the cloth-warehouſe, ſhall have one per mil of the amount of all the piecegoods ordered at *Hougly*, which ſhall be carried to account of charges on merchandize.

ART. III. The materials for packages ſhall be charged in account, at what they really coſt, and five per cent ſhall be received upon them, by thoſe who have to provide them; but their account ſhall be exhibited, upon any alteration in the prices, or, at leaſt, once every year, to the council of polity.

ART. IV. To the reſidents at the mint, is allowed the hiring of two peons, one palankeen, and one ſet cahars, provided that for the ſame no more than *f.*400 be charged by each, for one year, which ſhall be carried to account of mint-charges.

ART. V. To the two firſt ſervants at *Caſſimbazar*, is allowed the overweight upon the ſilk collected by them; two-thirds, and one-third.

ART. VI. The ſervants at *Patna* ſhall equally enjoy five per cent upon the materials uſed in packages, in the ſame manner as is ſettled by ART. III.

ART. VII. For the national viſits at *Hougly*, the director ſhall, each time, be allowed to charge to the Company five or ſix hundred gilders.

ART. VIII. The fiſcal ſhall have one-half of all inter-

cepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided he ſatisfy the informers; and if the veſſels, guards, and ſervants employed in the revenue-ſervice, amount to much more than three thouſand gilders, the excedent ſhall be borne by him.

SECTION XVI. *Of* COROMANDEL.

ART. I. The fiſcals ſhall henceforward have one-half of all intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided they ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of their own pockets.

ART. II. Upon nilly, caliatourwood, and whatever elſe the adminiſtrators do not purchaſe themſelves at fixed prices, but which is provided by others, they ſhall receive from the provider five per cent, either in overweight, overmeaſure, or in money; further, one per cent more upon caliatourwood, becauſe it muſt be ſhipped off with that allowance for draft; beſides which, two per cent ſhall be reckoned for loſs in weight by drying, and two per cent for ſawing, and the loſs occaſioned thereby; which is all that ſhall be allowed to be written off upon thoſe articles.

ART. III. For materials for packing, provided that the packages be duly furniſhed, the warehouſekeeper ſhall charge:

For a bale of committers, penaſcoes, boelangs, moorees, doepetys, ſailcloth, pattamarapoes, camboys, chintzes, tepoys, and the like, three dungarees of eight cobidos, ſix goenys, eight pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn; and if embaled in oilcloth, three gilders for the oilcloth, one gilder for cotton, and two ſtivers for ſealing-wax and oil.

For a bale of Guinea ſtuffs, ſalempores, parcalles, dungarees, betellees, chiavonys, &c. four dungarees, ſix goenys, nine pounds of cordage, and two pounds of yarn, or for the whole, ten gilders; item, for what is embaled in oilcloth *f.*4 10, for cotton, *f.*1 4, and for ſealingwax, &c. two ſtivers.

For a cheſt to pack chintzes, four Chineſe planks, and one pound of nails.

For packs of fiſhſkins, &c. four goenys, ſix pounds of cordage, and one pound of yarn.

For caſes of ſpices, upon opening and cloſing them, 1 pound of nails, and 1 dungarees.

For

For chefts of copper, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of nails, and for fealing of each cheft, eight pennings; item, two pennings for fealing of the bags.

For an oilcloth of eight cobidos, *f.*2 10.

For the goenys corpays, or covering-cloths which are ufed in the warehoufes, annually, at *Negapatnam*, *f.*200.

For the goeny-bags for yearly conſumption, *f.*500 at *Negapatnam*.

For ſtraw, to lay under the rice and pepper, annually, *f.*100; the charges of houſing and delivering, ſhall be charged in the ſame manner as heretofore.

ART. IV. The caſhiers of the ſouthern factories, ſhall charge—

for a hog of 100 pounds	*f.*10 0
and in the northern part of *Coromandel*	8 0
for an ox of 200 pounds	15 0
for each goat	1 5
for firewood, at *Negapatnam*, and *Portonovo*, per 1000	6 0
at *Sadraſpatnam*, per bundle	0 3
at *Palliacatta*, per bundle	0 2
in North *Coromandel*, per thony	24 0

ART. V. The diſpenſier, upon purchaſing the oil, may take five per cent for himſelf, from the provider, either in meaſure or in money, charging the real price to the Company, and he ſhall, therefore, make good all undermeaſure, while the price muſt be given in, when neceſſary, or, at leaſt, once a year, to the council of polity; but it ſhall not be allowable, without expreſs orders from this government, to pay more than one pagoda of *f.*4 16, per ſeven meaſures, weighing 28 pounds.

ART. VI. The comptroller of equipment may furniſh the coir in the ſame manner as the diſpenſier of the oil, but not at a higher rate than 7 pagodas per 480 pounds.

ART. VII. The gunner may bring to account—

for a bundle of ſtraw	*f.*0 6
for 2½ tok poenak	0 10
for a buffalo	14 0
for charcoal, for making 100 pounds of gunpowder	7 0

ART. VIII. For the articles conſumed every year in the warehouſes, may be charged and written off, as follows;

for

	for goenys, carpays, or covering-cloths.	for little goeny-bags.	for ſtraw to lay under the rice and pepper.
at *Maſulipatnam*	*f.*100	*f.*100	*f.*20
at *Sadraſpatnam*	150	100	20
at *Palliacatta*	100	100	20
at *Portonovo*	50	60	10
at *Jaggernaikpoeram*	50	60	10
at *Bemelipatnam*	50	60	10.

ART. IX. The chief at *Portonovo*, and the caſhier there, may divide together what they can ſave out of the payment of the duties.

SECTION XVII. *Of* CEYLON.

ART. I. The head adminiſtrator, and the warehouſe-keepers, ſhall have five per cent upon the piecegoods ſold by auction, for guarantee of the money, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter.

ART. II. The Company's ſervants ſhall have one-fourth of the import and export duties at *Colombo*, *Punto Gallo*, and at *Trinconomale*, but at no other places, which ſhall be diſtributed in the following manner, viz:

Of thoſe of *Colombo* and *Punto Gullo*

	100th parts
to the governor	24
to the head-adminiſtrator	8
to the deſſave of *Colombo*	3
to the major	3
to ſix merchants, each 3, thus	18
to twelve junior merchants at *Colombo*, each 1½, thus	18
to the comptroller of equipment at *Colombo*	1½
to the commandant of *Punto Gallo*	8
to the deſſave of *Punto Gallo*	3
to the ſecond of *Punto Gallo*	3
to one captain and five junior merchants, at *Punto Gallo*, each 1½, thus	9
to the comptroller of equipment at *Punto Gallo*	1
	100

Of thoſe of *Trinconomale*.

to the chief	50
to the ſecond	20
to the fiſcal	15
to the chief of the military	15
	100

ART.

ART. III. The governor ſhall have five, and the commiſſioners for farming the pearlbanks three, per cent, upon the amount thereof, provided they bring no charges to account, and make good their own expences; alſo upon the chancos-fiſhery, the governor ſhall have five, and the chief of *Manaar*, or *Tulucorin*, three per cent.

ART. IV. The governor ſhall alſo receive upon the areca warrants, one-fourth rixdollar per ammonam.

ART. V. On the other hand, all emoluments which were formerly enjoyed, either as coſtumado, pareſſe, or for any favours, offices, or titles, ſhall entirely ceaſe. Yet when titles of honour are beſtowed upon any of the natives, they ſhall pay ſomething for cuſtom, excluſive of a reaſonable charge for the act, to thoſe of the ſecretary's office, and a certain amount ſhall be fixed for each dignity, which ſhall be for the benefit of the poor of *Ceylon*. No dons, however, ſhall be created than among the proper caſtes, and thoſe who may now enjoy the title of don among the inferior caſtes, and eſpecially among the Pareas, ſhall be deprived of it.

ART. VI. The deſſave of *Colombo* ſhall, in particular, enjoy:

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of five rixdollars.

2. The dekkums *, which the inhabitants have, from ancient times, been bound to contribute, conſiſting of a few baſkets of lingaleſe ſugar, piſang, and other triſles, not exceeding the value of nine or ten rixdollars.

ART. VII. The chief of *Caliture* ſhall receive for the ferry there, five, ſix, or ſeven rixdollars per month, out of which the ferryman and rowers ſhall be maintained.

ART. VIII. The chief of *Negombo* ſhall enjoy:

1. The cuſtomary overmeaſure upon the areca, which is bought in ſmall quantities, out of which he ſhall make good the waſte; and the quarter rixdollar, formerly given to him upon each ammonam, ſhall be aboliſhed.

2. Five per cent upon the oil, upon furniſhing it to the Company at the purchaſe-price.

ART. IX. The chief of *Hangwelle* ſhall receive a rent of four rixdollars per annum, for a grove of cocoanut-trees, at *Old Hangwelle*.

* A ſpecies of tribute, equivalent to capitation-money.

ART.

ART. X. The chief of *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall enjoy:

1. Small fines, not exceeding the amount of ſix rixdollars; item, the forfeitures, detailed in the order reſpecting the narrowing or deſtroying of roads, being one-half rixdollar for the broad, and one-quarter rixdollar for the narrow, roads.

2. The contributions which the inhabitants of the diſtrict of *Wanny* yearly give to the deſſave out of their crop of nilly, excluſive of the tithes to the Company, as practiſed from time immemorial.

ART. XI. The thombo-keeper (receiver of the revenues), at *Jaffnapatnam*, ſhall take the ſeveral fees for regiſtering of acts of appointment of native officers, &c. ſpecified below—(then follows a ſpecification of ſuch fees and offices, comprized under eight heads).

ART. XII. The ſecretary at *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall receive the ſeveral dues upon all acts and documents appointed by the liſt of fees of the year 1709, renewed in 1744; as likewiſe ſome trifling fees for the acts of native ſervants, and licenſes granted there, according to ancient practice.

ART. XIII. The commandant of *Punto Gallo* ſhall enjoy the revenues of the village of *Himmene* granted to him, twelve pounds of fiſh per day for his table, according to the conditions of farm; and the pingos *, given by the chiefs of the villages, one pingo per week, together with ſuch other pingos as may be preſented voluntarily by others.

ART. XIV. The deſſave of *Mature* ſhall have:

1. What has of old been granted to him by the Company, conſiſting in the revenues of a village for proviſions, and the table-perquiſites, for which ſuch qualified ſervants, miniſters, &c. as come there ſhall be lodged and entertained; item, now and then a few trifles from individuals, of the value of two or three, or at the moſt ſix or ſeven, rixdollars.

2. Now and then ſuch ſmall fines of five or ſix rixdollars as may be impoſed upon natives of conſideration who miſbehave themſelves, and who may not, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the country be puniſhed with the cane or chiambok.

* Contributions towards furniſhing the table of the chief.

ART.

ART. XV. The ſecretary at *Punto Gallo*, ſhall have, beſides his fees for preparing of papers, and the profits of the office of venduemaſter, three pounds of fiſh per day, appointed to be given to him as chief of the fiſhers, by the conditions of the farm.

ART. XVI. The ſuperintendent of the diſtrict of *Punto Gallo*, ſhall have fifty rixdollars per annum, for travelling-expences, the paſſage-money at *Bentote*, two pounds of fiſh per day, ſuch occaſional pingos as do not amount in value to more than one-quarter rixdollar, &c.

ART. XVII. The chief at *Tutocorin* may keep for himſelf two pieces of cotton, of thoſe which ſhall have been preſented to him, by the merchants, regents, and other natives, as perquiſites, or fees.

ART. XVIII. To the chief of *Calpetty* is granted:

1. For each country-veſſel that arrives from *Coromandel*, four rixdollars, and from *Colombo*, *Jaffnapatnam*, or *Manaar*, two rixdollars.

2. For ſigning the paſſes of each country-veſſel that goes to *Coromandel*, *Jaffnapatnam*, of *Manaar*, one rixdollar.

3. For each of the four thonys of the Mooriſh fiſhers, and inhabitants there, that go out annually with paſſes, according to cuſtom, to fiſh, towards *Narecare*, two rixdollars.

4. For every thony laden with dried fiſh that goes from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, one-half rixdollar.

5. For every thony going from *Calpetty* to *Putulang*, and which belongs to people of *Coromandel*, two rixdollars, for the firſt time.

6. The profits of the Company's garden, which have of old been given to the chiefs, for the purpoſe of lodging and entertaining the Company's ſervants who paſs by here, amounting to ten or twelve rixdollars per month.

7. Upon a good fiſhery, two or three rixdollars every year from each of the four thonys.

8. Two-thirds of the fines, the other third being for the benefit of the poor.

9. The Mooriſh, or Gentoo fiſhers, who are free from feudal ſervice, ſhall give to him every year, at the new year, a preſent conſiſting of cottons, or three or four rixdollars.

10. When areca-nuts are brought to *Putulang*, and delivered

livered to the Company, the merchants ſhall give two ſmall baſkets of thoſe nuts as a preſent.

11. Alſo one baſket of ſingelee-ſeed, when brought to *Putulang*.

12. The boatmen that come from the coaſt, ſhall give, according to ancient cuſtom, a ſmall part of their cargo, alſo a baſket with rice or nilly.

13. The fiſhers ſhall give, according to ancient cuſtom, eight pounds of fiſh per day; and, laſtly, when a thony comes from *Putulang*, with grain or other proviſions, they ſhall give, as a preſent, a bunch of 100 betel-leaves, and two rolls of jaggree-ſugar.

ART. XIX. The chief of *Manaar* ſhall enjoy:

1. The uſual contribution, for renewal of the paſſes of all the country-veſſels which paſs through the ſtraits there, in order to lodge and entertain ſuch of the Company's ſervants as may travel that way.

2. Of the certificates which are given by the ſecretary there for ſome of the Coromandel ſlaves brought by the boatmen, one-half rixdollar per head.

3. For the beaſts of burthen, ſold by the inhabitants there to thoſe of *Jaffnapatnam*, four ſtivers.

*4. For permiſſion to the coaſt-boatmen, or to the inhabitants, for the free purchaſe of ſingelee-ſeed in the village of *Bengale*, from three to ſix rixdollars, according to the quantity intended to be purchaſed.

5. Fines, of from three to ſix rixdollars, and not higher.

6. The boatmen of other places, on paſſing *Manaar*, ſhall give, according to cuſtom, ſomething out of their cargo, as a preſent.

ART. XX. Servants ſent out of the iſland, or going into the interior parts, ſhall, according to the order of the 18th of October, 1748, receive double wages, during the time of their commiſſion, and no more; excepting, however, thoſe who are deputed to the pearl-fiſhery, to whom nothing extraordinary ſhall be given.

ART. XXI. The commandant of *Jaffnapatnam* ſhall receive:

1. Upon the death, miſconduct, or diſmiſſion of a majoraal, cajaal, or pattangatje *, and the appointment of

* Titles of native chiefs of villages, of whom the majoraal is the chief.

new

new ones, ten rixdollars from a majoraal, five from a cajaal, and ſo on, in proportion.

2. When permiſſion is given for the exportation of cocoanuts, or palm-laths, the exporters ſhall give, according to cuſtom, one-half rixdollar; in order to encourage the importation of nilly from the oppoſite ſhore.

3. When any coaſt-boatmen, arriving at *Punto Pedro*, with a cargo of nilly, requeſt to break bulk, on account of the want of grain there, or for other reaſons which compel them thereto, they ſhall pay, for an acknowledgment, twenty-five rixdollars for each veſſel.

ART. XXII. The reſpective fiſcals of this government ſhall, henceforward, have one-half of all the intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided they ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of their own pockets.

SECTION XVIII. *Of* MALABAR.

The commandant ſhall have one per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

SECTION XIX. *Of* SURAT.

ART. I. The director ſhall have:

1. One-fourth per cent upon all monies paid or received, for purchaſe or ſale, from the ſeller or buyer.

2. One per cent upon all goods imported and exported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

3. One-half per cent upon all privileged goods.

But, on the other hand, the daily charges of the durbar, ſhall be made good by himſelf.

4. He ſhall receive ſix thouſand gilders at once, every year, and no more, for the native peons and ſervants, including their board-wages, while the director is abſent from the lodge.

ART. II. The ſecond ſhall receive one-fourth per cent upon all monies which are diſburſed for the purchaſe of goods.

ART. III. The fiſcal ſhall have:

1. One-half per cent upon all goods imported and exported

ported by private perſons, to be reckoned upon the ſales of the former, and invoices of the latter.

2. Alſo one-half per cent upon all privilege goods.

3. One-half of all intercepted and confiſcated contraband goods, provided he ſatisfy the informers, and pay the neceſſary guards and ſervants out of his own pocket.

ART. IV. The military ſhall collectively receive—

125 pounds of pepper every year
120 maunds (or *f.*30 for) firewood
10 ditto (or 6 for) ſalt and } per month.
10 pots (or 12 for) vinegar

The commanders of veſſels, the ſmith, the cooper, the provoſt, and the gunner, ſhall receive in the ſame proportion as the military, or ten ſtivers per man, per month.

Each chamber ſhall have, for night-uſe, ſix pounds of oil per month.

Neither ſeamen or ſoldiers, and much leſs the native ſoldiers, ſhall be allowed any extra wages or board.

ART. V. The warehouſekeeper ſhall have, upon all weighable goods that are purchaſed, the overweight, which muſt be made good by the deliverer, namely—

upon cotton, five pounds per candil, or two-thirds per cent;
upon cotton-yarn, one per cent;
upon indigo, one and a half per cent;
upon wheat, two per cent;
upon caſhoo, one and a half per cent;
upon ſealingwax, one per cent;
upon ſoap, two per cent;
upon poetsjok, galls olibanum, falſe amber, borax, and ſuch goods as are imported from abroad, nothing; but upon all others in proportion.

2dly, For weigh-money, ſeven ſtivers and a half per candil, of all weighable goods bought and ſold.

3dly, What he can ſave out of the undermentioned allowances:

1. For keeping in repair the tent for the piecegoods, with its appurtenances, *f.*825 per annum.

2. For 2000 Bengal goeny-bags, ſo as they are uſed, *f.*525.

3. For charges upon receipt of goods for the ſubordinate factories, when received by water, *f.*1 10, for ſix bales

bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn, or indigo.

4. For ditto, when received by land, *f.*1 10, for thirty-two of the former, and ſixty-four of the latter.

5. For charges upon examining the goods that come from the ſubordinate factories, *f.*11 4—for every package that is really opened.

6. For charges upon removing the goods from the lodge or warehouſes to the tent, *f.*1 10—in the ſame manner as by No. 3.

7. For ditto, when removed again for ſome cauſe or other, to the warehouſes, *f.*1 10—in the ſame manner as by No. 4.

8. For charges upon chiapping the goods, fifteen ſtivers for every package that is opened and chiapped.

9. For charges upon weighing the packs, bales, and boxes, 32 for *f.*1 10.

10. For charges upon ſhipping ditto, *f.*1 10—for ſix bales of piecegoods, and twelve bales of cotton-yarn and indigo.

11. For charges upon landing, ſorting, weighing, and entering of the commodities imported, eighteen ſtivers and twelve pennings per candil of 690 pounds.

12. For charges upon unloading of cheſts, boxes, &c. and carrying them into the latty, *f.*1 2 8.

13. For charges upon weighing out the commodities imported, either out of the latty, or out of the warehouſes, *f.*1 10.

14. For charges upon conveying of goods out of the latty into the warehouſes, and houſing and ſtowing of them there, *f.*1 10.

15. For conveying of cheſts and boxes from the latty to the warehouſes, one with another, for each, *f.*1 2 8.

16. For charges on garbling 100*lbs.* nutmegs, nine ſtivers and ſix pennings.

17. For charges incurred at the annual viſitation and inventory of the warehouſes, *f.*22 10.

18. For charges upon transferring of warehouſes, *f.*45.

19. For charges upon weighing and receiving indigo, poetsjok, falſe amber, olibanum, myrrh, borax, gum, galls, &c. eleven ſtivers and four pennings per 100 pounds.

20. For all other ſmall charges relative to his department, and not included in the above, *f.*19 per annum.

21. For packing and embaling of every bale, one with another, provided they are not too ſmall, and that with reſpect to the largeſt, no package ſhall exceed 500 pounds in weight.

Againſt which he ſhall have to pay out of his own pocket—

a. The native weighers;

b. A native, for the purpoſe of keeping note of the cooleyhire, &c.

ART. VI. The ſecretary ſhall have, beſides the ſettled fees for the preparing of documents—

for the ſea-letter of a ſhip or veſſel of more than 800 candil, *f.*75;

for ditto, under 800 candil, *f.*37 10;

of which, however, he ſhall give one-third to the firſt ſworn clerk.

ART. VII. The factors, or chiefs of the ſubordinate factories, ſhall have what they can ſave—

1. Out of the three hundred gilders per month paid for ordinary and extraordinary charges; in which, however, are not included the cuſtomary annual preſent, paper, pens, and medicines, nor the charges of the durbar, which laſt are to be borne by the broker, or agent, and the others by the Company.

2. Out of the charges in the invoices, or properly charges upon merchandize, which are fixed at one and a half per cent.

3. Out of the charges upon packing and embaling the goods ſent off, which are to be regulated in the ſame manner as is detailed in ART. V. No. 21. with reſpect to the warehouſekeeper at *Surat*.

Of all which emoluments they ſhall have to give one-third to the ſeconds in their reſpective factories.

ART. VIII. The comptroller of equipment ſhall have—

1. What he can ſave for himſelf upon receiving;

a. For the monthly expences of the Company's veſſels, or the wages, proviſions, &c. of the ſeamen ſerving therein, including candles and other ſmall articles, viz.

For fourteen hands employed therein, during the rainy ſeaſon, or from the 1ſt of July, to the middle of Auguſt, *f.*142 10 per month,

For

For thirty-two hands, from the end of Auguſt till the ſhips arrive, including the ſchooner to look out, *f.*414 per month.

For ſixty-five hands, during the time the ſhips are here, or from their arrival till the end of May, *f.*840 per month.

And the laſtmentioned *f.*840 is to be calculated as follows:

for a ſchooner with ten hands . . .	*f.*130	10
for four veſſels with nine hands, each *f.*117 or	468	
for a horry with eight hands	103	10
for a country-boat with eleven hands .	138	
	*f.*840	

b. For keeping the ſame under cover as the Company are accuſtomed, viz.

for a ſchooner, *f.*90—every year
for a horry, *f.*30—ditto
for a country-boat, &c. *f.*30—ditto.

2. For keeping in repair the ciſtern-ropes in the Company's garden, *f.*36 per annum.

3. Five per cent upon the expences of keeping in repair, the leathern bags for the ciſterns, the leathern pipes for the fire-engine, and fifty fire-buckets, and for repairing the roofs, &c. of the Company's outhouſes, &c. provided he charges only the real coſt, and renders a yearly account thereof to the council of polity.

4. For the bamboos, brooms, earthen pots, &c. required for the ſervice of the Company's garden and wharf, 65 rupees, or *f.*97 10.

5. For the ballaſt wanted, viz.
for a horry of 20 laſts, *f.*15.
for one of 15 ditto, 12.

6. For heightening the Company's garden, as allowed by letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*37 10 per annum.

7. For baſkets for putting on board the ballaſt, to each veſſel, *f.*6 15.

8. For ſieves for the ballaſt, *f.*4 10 per annum.

9. For all other goods wanted in his department, either for the equipment of veſſels, or for the reparation of the Company's buildings in the outer town, according

to the rates fixed by a price-current thereof, which ſhall be annually framed on the 1ſt of February, by the council of polity.

10. He ſhall likewiſe have, or elſe the perſons who go out to drag for anchors, one-fourth of the value of the anchors and grapnels belonging to private merchants, which ſhall be recovered, but nothing upon thoſe belonging to the Company.

And, on the other hand, he ſhall be bound—

1ſt, To render a proper account every year.

2dly, To keep every thing in due order.

3dly, To charge nothing for cooley-hire, &c. but to have all labour done by the ſeamen in the ſervice of the Company.

ART. IX. The diſpenſier, or purveyor, ſhall have what he can ſave upon being paid—

1. For the monthly keep of a horſe, *f.*22 10.

2. For keeping a carriage, *f.*18 per month.

3. For keeping a draught-ox, *f.*15 per month.

4. For the monthly charges of the ſtable, agreeable to the letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*21.

5. For providing the offices with ſealingwax, ink, ſand, and tape, *f.*5 per month.

6. For keeping in repair the great ciſtern before the lodge, with the appurtenances thereof, alſo according to the ſaid letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*97 10 per annum.

7. For keeping in repair all the water-bags for the draught-oxen; item, the leathern buckets, ropes, &c. belonging thereto; *f.*60 per annum.

8. For keeping the fire-engine in order, together with the leathern pipe, and buckets, the real coſt ſhall be charged, and he ſhall receive thereon five per cent, alſo, agreeable to the ſaid letter.

9. For charges to the keepers of the church, for brooms, baſkets, pots, &c. *f.*27 per annum.

10. For tinning and repairing the kitchen-utenſils of the director, penniſts, and military, *f.*27 per four months.

11. For ſtarch, for binding of books, *f.*15 per annum.

12. For heightening and ſmoothing the ſtreets in the city, according to the abovementioned letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1754, *f.*37 10 per annum.

13. For keeping the roofs, &c. of the Company's own and hired buildings in repair, repairing the hearths

and

and chimnies, &c. the real coſt ſhall be charged, and he ſhall receive thereon five per cent, with the ſame clauſe as is inſerted in No. 3. of the laſt article, with reſpect to the comptroller of equipment.

14. For every ox, or cow, which he furniſhes to the ſhips for refreſhment, including all charges, *f.*18.

15. For every baſket of greens, *f.*1 13 12.

16. For all other goods required in his department, the ſame as the comptroller of equipment, by ART. VIII. No. 9.

And, on the other hand, he ſhall be bound, to keep every thing in due order, and to render account annually to the council of polity.

ART. X. The head-ſurgeon ſhall receive for board of the ſick in the hoſpital, nine ſtivers per day per head, provided that nothing more be charged to the Company for them, and that he provide the cribs in the hoſpital for the ſervice of the ſick.

ART. XI. Thoſe who are now and then employed in convoying the country-veſſels to *Cambaya*, *Baroche*, *Baunagra*, &c. and command, for that purpoſe, the Company's ſchooners and horrys, on account of the number of pirates ſwarming in theſe ſeas, ſhall have one-fourth of the freight which they can, on ſuch occaſions, earn by the Company's veſſels, according to the allowance granted by letter of the 20th of Auguſt, 1751.

In the caſtle at *Batavia*, the 31ſt of May, 1755.

No. III.

REGULATION

Reſpecting the receipt and delivery of ſhips' cargoes, as well at *Batavia*, as at the reſpective out-factories, with what relates thereto.

ART. 1. The commanding officers of ſhips ſhall, to prevent ill treatment on one ſide, and unfounded complaints on the other, be always themſelves preſent at the receipt of goods on board their ſhips out of the Company's warehouſes, or delivery thereof into them, and look to what they receive, as well with reſpect to qua-

lity as to quantity, for the commanders ſhall be equally liable for the inferior quality, or bad condition of the goods, as for any deficiency in the quantity; and if, by indiſpoſition, or for other ſufficient reaſons, they are not able to be themſelves preſent, they ſhall appoint thereto a lieutenant or mate, or other perſon in whoſe fidelity and attention they can confide. And even if they, or, as beforeſaid, thoſe who may be placed in their ſtead, declare that they will receive any thing upon the word and good faith of thoſe who have to ſhip them, yet it ſhall not be allowed them ſo to do.

ART. II. When they receive any thing, it ſhall accurately be noted down, and ſpecially inſerted in the bill of loading, that the ſhipment is made by groſs or neat weight, by weight, meaſure, or tale; likewiſe what tare is reckoned upon each box, bag, &c. and how much has been weighed at once, in order that care may be taken at the delivery, that no goods be required of them in any other mode than they may have received them.

ART. III. Each weigh ſhall not be taken at more than five or ſix hundred pounds, and the ſcale ſhall rather preponderate in favour of the goods than of the weights, and the overweights noted in the bills of loading ſhall be accounted for.

ART. IV. Gold and ſilver, either in bullion or in coin, ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders in bars, or in ſpecie, by tale and by weight, and likewiſe be ſo delivered out by them, although it ſhall be conveyed, as cuſtomary, in cheſts, which ſhall be locked and ſealed, and of which the keys ſhall be ſealed up ſeparately, and ſent with them, provided that at the delivery out, care be taken that as many bars or pieces be placed at once upon the ſcale, as at the receipt, and which ſhall equally be inſerted in the bills of loading.

ART. V. In the ſame manner the commanders of ſhips ſhall receive iron, copper, tin, tutenague, lead, ſugar, grain, pepper, and other weighable articles, by their net weights, and deliver them out ſo again.

ART. VI. All kinds of piecegoods muſt equally be weighed by ſingle packages, and deſcribed upon the outermoſt goeny, on the ſide, where the pieces and aſſortment are not ſpecified, in order that the packages, cheſts, and bales, of piecegoods, be not only delivered reſpectively to the ſhips' commanders, and to the ware-houſekeeper,

houſekeeper, by tale, and by aſſortment, but likewiſe by weight.

ART. VII. But all packages, bales, cheſts, and boxes, with coarſe and fine cottons, gold and ſilver, cloth and lace, velvets, woollens, and other manufactures, ſilk, and ſilk cloths, ſtationary, curioſities, toys, as likewiſe the baſkets and caſks of camphor, colours, nails, &c. the bottles or jars of quickſilver; and in ſhort, all ſuch goods, which, according to the order included in ART. XXI. are packed up, and properly embaled, as well as appearing outwardly in good condition, ſhall only be weighed by groſs weight, and the weight ſpecified thereon, and ſo delivered to the ſhips' commanders, who ſhall nevertheleſs have leave, if any one of thoſe packs, bales, or other package, appear in the leaſt ſuſpicious to them, to have them opened, in order, by examination, to find out what may be the reaſon thereof, although it ſhall be ſufficient for their reſponſibility, that they deliver them unopened and well conditioned, by groſs weight, according to the bill of loading, or note of weight, to be given with each veſſel.

ART. VIII. And in caſe ſuch bales, caſes, &c. as have been carefully and properly ſtowed, and which appear outwardly in good condition, that is to ſay, that the weight agrees, and the bagging, cordage, and ſeals of the packages, are ſound and unbroken, any articles be found defective, or ſhort, the amount thereof, and the loſs thence enſuing, ſhall be for account of the packers or diſpatchers, namely, one-half for the adminiſtrators, and one-half for the commiſſioners in the warehouſes.

ART. IX. But if the packages be not found in good condition, or that they do not agree in groſs weight, with the groſs weight when ſhipped, or that they have not been carefully and properly ſtowed, then the commanders of the veſſels ſhall be liable for what is ſpoiled or wanting, and ſhall be charged on account for the ſame, at the ſelling-price.

ART. X. Yet the warehouſekeepers, or adminiſtrators, ſhall in no wiſe be allowed to receive the damaged bales, &c. unopened into their warehouſes; but they ſhall be obliged, immediately on their arrival, to open, unpack, and examine them, in the preſence of the ſhip's commander, and of commiſſioners ſpecially appointed thereto, who ſhall make an exact and detailed report of the reſult, in order that the ſhip's commander may be accordingly

made liable, or liberated from being reſponſible for the damage and loſs.

ART. XI. In the ſame manner they ſhall not be at liberty to open any ſound or undamaged packages, &c. by themſelves, upon pain of being made anſwerable for whatever may be found ſhort, or ſpoiled, but the ſame ſhall equally be done in the preſence of the ſhip's commander, if he can be found, and of ſpecial commiſſioners, who ſhall have to weigh them immediately on arrival, and note down, if they find any difference with the groſs weight, according to the note of ſhipment, and upon diſcovering any diminution, or damage, they ſhall make an affidavit thereof, which ſhall be laid before, or ſent up to, this government, together with the note of ſhipment.

ART. XII. The commiſſioners ſhall thus ſtand as umpires between the receiver and deliverer; and no others ſhall therefore be appointed to that office, than perſons of unqueſtioned honour, who ſhall, at the ſame time, poſſeſs ſufficient knowledge and ability to diſtinguiſh truly, whether each party be properly dealt by, and whether the articles, which the adminiſtrators may chooſe to conſider as defective or damaged, are really, and *bona fide*, defective and damaged.

ART. XIII. With reſpect to the ſhipment and delivery of the four chief ſpices, viz. cloves, nutmegs, mace, and cinnamon, the orders ſucceſſively iſſued on that ſubject, ſhall continue to be obſerved.

ART. XIV. When moiſt or wet cloves, or nutmegs, are landed, all the caſes ſhall be ſeparately weighed by commiſſioners appointed thereto, who ſhall ſpecify, in their report, how much more they weigh than by the invoice, and how much the tares of the caſes are more or leſs, then ſuch cloves or nutmegs ſhall be ſpread out, for twice the ſpace of ſix hours, in the ſun, to dry, and the day after the drying has been completed, they ſhall be reweighed, and put into the caſes again, and the real underweight, if ſuch be found to be the caſe, ſhall be calculated, and acted upon accordingly; they ſhall afterwards be placed upon ſtands, in dry warehouſes, with ſalt, and not water, in the troughs placed under them; moreover, the ſhips' commanders ſhall be required to render an account how the ſaid moiſture occurred, and the deciſion ſhall be referred to the council of India, together with ſuch conſiderations as may occur on the ſubject; without any prejudice to the proſecution of the

fiſcal,

fiſcal, and immediate indemnification at the ſelling-prices, if any fraud be found to have been committed therein.

ART. XV. But with reſpect to wine, ſpirits, and other liquids, in caſks, it is hereby ordered, that no caſks ſhall be delivered to the ſhips, or ſent from here, but what contain the following quantity of cans, and are branded accordingly, namely:

a whole leager	400 cans	
a half ditto	200 ditto	
a whole awm	100 ditto	of ten *muts* each can.
a half ditto	50 ditto	
a beer-caſk	110 ditto	

ART. XVI. The above caſks ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders, in good condition, and full, who ſhall be allowed for carrying them over, ſuch diminution as is ſettled by the regulation reſpecting the offreckoning of underweights, &c. dated the 15th of Auguſt, 1752.

ART. XVII. But the diminutions upon caſks, allowed by the abovementioned regulation to the reſpective adminiſtrators, are hereby annulled, and, inſtead thereof, they ſhall only be required to make good;

		At *Batavia* and *Ceylon*.	At the other Factories.
for one whole leager	cans	363	360
for one half ditto		180	180
for one whole awm		90	90
for one half ditto		45	45
for one caſk of beer		100	100
for one barrel of beef	pounds	420	400
for one ditto of pork		340	320
for one ditto of butter		320	310
and for one pot of Bengal butter, at *Batavia*, and other places where it is brought direct from *Bengal*, 10 pounds leſs, and at factories which receive it from *Batavia*, or at ſecond hand, 20 pounds leſs, than it has been ſhipped for from *Bengal*, which is at preſent, 150 pounds, thus		140	130

ART. XVIII. What is given to the ſhips for their conſumption, ſhall be accounted for by the commanders, in the ſame manner as detailed above, with regard to the reſpective factories, excluſive of *Ceylon*, without any further offreckoning.

ART.

ART. XIX. And in order that the ſhips' commanders may not allege that they have received bad liquor for good, without foundation, they ſhall have, upon receipt thereof, to taſte the liquor themſelves, together with the commiſſioners.

ART. XX. No caſks ſhall be unladen before they have been examined, guaged, and taſted, while lying in the tier, by commiſſioners acquainted with the articles, and who ſhall give a declaration of the ſtowage and condition thereof; for if the goods be found not to have been properly ſtowed in the hold, the ſhip's commander ſhall be anſwerable for the damage accruing thereby; and nothing ſhall be written off, for loſt, broken, or damaged goods, unleſs it appear, by ſuch a declaration, that they have been properly ſtowed, and that the XXIVth article hereof has been ſtrictly followed.

ART. XXI. At the packing up of the goods, which the ſhips' commanders, agreeable to ART. VII. receive and deliver by groſs weight, not only two ſpecial commiſſioners ſhall be preſent, but the warehouſekeepers ſhall likewiſe have to put into each pack, caſe, or cheſt, a note ſigned by them, and by the commiſſioners, ſpecifying the quantity of goods actually packed therein; and it will be ſufficient, that the adminiſtrators render account according to thoſe notes, although a larger quantity may appear upon the invoice, provided they give immediate advice of ſuch difference, where and how it behooves.

ART. XXII. For further ſecurity, they ſhall have to ſeal all packs, cheſts, and caſes of finer wares, namely, the cheſts and caſes with a croſs-cord, and the packs or bales by means of an inner bag under the goony, as has been cuſtomary of old.

ART. XXIII. And if in ſuch packs, caſes, or cheſts, any thing be found defective or ſhort, the indemnification thereof ſhall be borne by the warehouſekeeper, or warehouſekeepers, together with the commiſſioners, of the place where the ſhipment was made, each one half, agreeable to ART. VIII.

ART. XXIV. Upon the diſpatch of the goods from the ſhore, after the perſon that receives them there has ſigned a receipt for them, in the ſhipment-book of the warehouſe, a ſealed and ſigned note ſhall be given to each lighter or boat, in which the weight, the number, and marks, and numbers of the packs, cheſts, and caſes, ſhall be

be ſeparately ſpecified; and if any thing be found upon reweighing on board, and confrontation with the note of ſhipment, not to agree therewith, or that it appears that any thing hav become wet, been pilfered, or damaged in any way, then th perſon who may have the command on board, to whom the notes of ſhipment are directed, ſhall not only inſtantly give intimation thereof, to his captain, and to the people on ſhore, in order that the cauſe of ſuch damage or deficiency be immediately diſcovered; but likewiſe, he ſhall, if neceſſary, have a ſufficient declaration drawn up by the officers on board, reſpecting the ſituation of the goods; and ſuch commanding officer, ſhall, if guilty of neglect or ſilence in ſuch caſes, be anſwerable for the loſs which the Company may incur in conſequence.

ART. XXV. The ſame ſhall take place upon redelivery of the goods from on board; when the firſt lieutenant, or mate, or he that fills that ſtation, ſhall duly weigh off to the quartermaſters or headmen of the lighters, or boats, all packs, cheſts, and caſes, which are diſcharged, and make an accurate note thereof, which ſhall be ſigned by the perſon who delivers out the goods, and by him that receives them, ſealed, and ſo addreſſed to the adminiſtrator or warehouſekeeper, into whoſe charge the goods are to be committed; and it ſhall, therefore, be part of the duty of the adminiſtrators or warehouſekeepers, when every thing is delivered to them conformably to the note of diſcharge, to put thereto the word "received," over their ſignature, and upon diſcovering any difference between the contents of the note, and the number, weight, or condition of the packages, &c. to give immediate advice thereof to the ſenior merchants, or head-adminiſtrators, or ſuch as are thereto appointed, as likewiſe, in both caſes, to keep copies of the notes, in the warehouſes; and the quartermaſters, or headmen, of the lighters, or boats, ſhall be anſwerable for the defects which ſhall appear in the goods.

ART. XXVI. Saltpetre from *Bengal* muſt be ſhipped in double goeny-bags, and the goenys ſhall be delivered to the ſhips' commanders, not by bundles, but by tale, and be ſo inſerted in the bills of loading.

ART. XXVII. The commiſſioners in the warehouſes, and thoſe who receive goods, ſhall, upon their ſhipment by country-boats or veſſels, to be carried on board;

firſt

firſt attentively examine the ſame, whether they are not leaky, and whether they are perfectly in a fit ſtate for conveying the goods; and finding any thing wrong, in this reſpect, they ſhall make the ſame known to the chief in command, in order that the ſame be provided for, upon pain that, if they neglect doing ſo, they ſhall be anſwerable for the conſequences, equally with the warehouſekeeper, and the comptroller of equipment who hires or provides the craft.

ART. XXVIII. Reſpecting the ſtowage within board, the ſhips' commanders ſhall have to take care, that the leaſt valuable goods be placed, under the cookroom, under the butlery, and near the mainmaſt; thoſe that are moſt valuable, as, gold and ſilver cloths, laces, &c. out of the hold, in the cabin; and that the pots of butter and caſks of oil be ſo ſtowed, that, upon any thing breaking, other goods may not be damaged thereby; and further, to take all poſſible precautions to prevent leakage, according to the tenor of the inſtructions of the aſſembly of ſeventeen on that head, dated the 13th of Auguſt, 1728, which ſhall always be conſidered as an appurtenance hereto; upon pain, that if the contrary take place, they ſhall be obliged to make good all the loſs, or damage, that may accrue thereby.

ART. XXIX. Due time ſhall be given to the ſhips' commanders after receipt of their cargoes, to be able to examine whether they have actually received what they muſt ſign bills of loading for; which it ſhall be the buſineſs of the ſenior merchants of the caſtle to attend to, at this place, and of the reſpective chiefs, and head adminiſtrators, at the out-factories.

ART. XXX. The ſhips' commanders, their officers, and crews, and the adminiſtrators, or warehouſekeepers, and their ſervants, ſhall not only behave towards each other with all proper and practicable civility and good manners, but ſhall alſo act with good faith and equity towards each other, inſomuch, that, neither ſhall any fraud or deceit be practiſed on either ſide, nor any attempt be made, or occaſion or conſent be given thereto.

ART. XXXI. And if any one act otherwiſe, either on ſhore, or on board, as, filling up of liquors with water, moiſtening the pepper, ſpices, cochineal, or other dry articles, or placing in or near them, oil, or wet goods, of any kind, the ſame ſhall be ſubject to corporal puniſhment, according to the circumſtances of the caſe.

ART.

ART. XXXII. But eſpecially and more ſeverely ſhall be puniſhed, thoſe who may make uſe of falſe meaſures, weights, beams, or ſcales, or even ſimply be in poſſeſſion of ſuch falſe inſtruments in their adminiſtrations; or thoſe who meaſure or weigh falſely, with good weights and meaſures. And the Commiſſioners themſelves ſhall not be excepted or exempted from the ſame penalties, if they can be proved to have had knowledge thereof, and not to have prevented, or given information of the ſame.

ART. XXXIII. And in order that the ſhips' commanders may be aſſured that they ſhall not be liable to make good any deficiency that may ariſe from a difference between the weights uſed in one factory, and thoſe uſed in another, which might prove of great prejudice to them, particularly with regard to copper and tin, a fifty pounder of the weights by which they receive thoſe metals, ſhall always be put into a ſeparate box in their preſence, ſealed, and given with them; and at the factory whither they are bound, the ſame ſhall be opened in their preſence, compared with the weights there uſed, and upon diſcovery of any difference, the delivery ſhall be made in proportion thereto; after which it ſhall again be directly ſealed up, and ſent back.

ART. XXXIV. Moreover, all meaſures, weights, beams, and ſcales, which the adminiſtrators have in uſe, or in their adminiſtrations, ſhall be narrowly examined twice every year, and compared with the ſtandards kept by the ordinary maſters of aſſize, and ſpecial commiſſioners, who, upon finding any thing wrong, ſhall directly ſeal up whatever is defective, and give due information thereof, at the proper place.

ART. XXXV. And the commiſſioners deputed for ſuch ſemeſtral examination, ſhall have always to be mindful to examine whether the meaſures, weights, beams, and ſcales, are mended, or furniſhed with rings, &c. and to make mention, in their written report, both of the quantity and condition thereof; and in particular to ſet down whether the meaſures, weights, &c. are duly aſſized, of which notice ſhall always be taken, for their information of what they have to do, in the warrants iſſued to them for that purpoſe.

In the caſtle of *Batavia*, the 20th of Auguſt, 1753.

No. IV.

No. IV.

AN account of the returns made to the United Provinces from the Eaſt-Indies, from the time the Dutch firſt traded thither, down to the year 1724, ſpecifying the number of ſhips every year, the invoice-amounts of their cargoes, and (from 1613 to 1713) the particular ſums for which the different chambers were intereſted therein:

Years.	Ships.	
1597	3	the *Maurice*, the *Hollandia*, and the *Duifken* (the *Pigeon*), arrived, the 10th of Auguſt, in the Texel, under the direction of CORNELIUS HOUTMAN; but little profit was made upon this firſt adventure.
1599	4	laden with mace, nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper.
1600	2	laden with ſpices.
	2	others with full cargoes.
1601	7	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
	3	with mace, nutmegs, and cloves.
	4	with pepper, &c.
1603	5	moſtly laden with pepper, likewiſe ſome cloves, and mace, and alſo cubebs.
	3	with full cargoes of nutmegs, mace, and cloves.
	2	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
1604	9	with full cargoes of ſpices, pepper, &c.
1605	7	with full cargoes of ſpices, cinnamon, &c.
	1	carack, a prize, valued at *f.*4,000,000.
1606	4	with full cargoes of cloves, &c.
	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.
1607	3	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.		Totals.
1608	5	with full cargoes of pepper, &c.	
	1	with a full cargo of cloves.	
1609	4	with full cargoes, consisting of spices, damasks, &c.	
1610	1	with a full cargo of nutmegs and mace.	
	3 or 4	uncertain.	
1611	5	with full cargoes, consisting of pepper, indigo, silk, cotton-yarn, diamonds, &c.	
1612 } 1613 }	8 or 9	uncertain.	

thus far the invoice-values of the cargoes are not exactly ascertained; but are calculated, viz.

77 ships, each at least *f.* 100,000	*f.* 7,700,000. 0. 0.
the carack valued at	4,000,000. 0. 0.
12 or 13, uncertain	1,400,000. 0. 0.
	f. 13,100,000. 0. 0.

		Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	
1614	2	268,963. 18. 4.	164,562. 5. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	433,526. 4. 4.
1615	5	360,509. 6. 3.	. . . .	127,180. 11. 10	23,982. 6. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	511,672. 4. 9.
1616	5	341,166. 8. 7.	32,448. 16. 14.	. . . .	192,443. 12. 9.	. . . .	. . . .	566,063. 17. 14.
1617	4	207,497. 16. 10.	189,488. 0. 0.	39,786. 17. 8.	. . . .	136,414. 9. 3.	. . . .	573,007. 4. 0.
1618	8	681,142. 13. 1.	378,760. 16. 7.	. . . .	. . . .	56,526. 2. 10.	189,114. 7. 1.	1,305,543. 19. 3.
1619	5	310,373. 18. 6.	301,675. 2. 1.	461,997. 16. 9.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	1,074,046. 17. 0.
1620	6	429,864. 0. 3.	214,262. 15. 11.	. . . .	234,009. 0. 1.	. . . .	. . . .	913,136. 19. 15.
1621	6	772,653. 1. 4.	118,121. 7. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	203,255. 12. 13.	. . . .	1,094,030. 1. 9.
1622	8	743,188. 2. 14.	675,313. 9. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	130,150. 10. 9.	228,240. 0. 0.	1,776,892. 4. 15.
1623	8	643,024. 15. 11.	130,360. 6. 6.	229,606. 13. 6.	150,933. 9. 12.	. . . .	245,984. 5. 0.	1,301,509. 9. 13.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1624.	6	364 812. 13. 13.	109,310. 18. 14	358,711. 18. 2.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	832,835. 10. 13.
1625	4	716,696. 15. 14.	266,763. 17. 11.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	983,460. 13. 9.
1626	10	1,167,735. 19. 3.	. . . .	112,224. 15. 8.	293,421. 18. 6.	263,193. 0. 14.	89,443. 5. 0.	1,926,018. 18. 15.
1627	7	904,166. 19. 5.	618,609. 11. 13.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	233,322. 15. 12.	1,748 099. 6. 14.
1628	7	1,127,590. 13. 12.	431,033. 4. 12.	337,771. 7. 14.	88,622. 3. 4.	65,349. 14. 3	. . . .	2,050,367. 3. 13.
1629	7	663,865. 7. 4	294,731. 5. 1	. . . .	121,666. 14. 12	. . . .	52,059. 13. 8	1,132,263. 0. 9.
1630	9	1,196,787. 5. 7.	581,424. 16. 3	373,482. 7. 3	298,409. 19. 15.	91,110. 15. 8.	. . . .	2,541,215. 4. 4.
1631	7	947,576. 3. 6	289,880. 10. 13	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	269,212. 2. 9.	1,506,668. 16. 12.
1632	7	1,228 832. 17. 2.	800,700. 3. 12.	. . . .	. . . .	70,239. 2. 6.	. . . .	2,099 772. 3. 4.
1633	7	1,182,428. 15. 8	347,905. 13. 10	. . . .	166,063. 15. 8.	165,010. 17. 10.	. . . .	1,861,409. 2. 4.
1634	7	956,525. 11. 5.	563,489. 15. 9	194,399. 13. 8.	. . . .	. . . .	232,854. 18. 14	1,547.269. 19. 4.
1635	6	1,443,827. 16. 6	401,775. 0. 5	204,433. 14. 4.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	2,050,036. 10. 15.
1636	8	1,094,387. 8. 10	524,355. 0. 11.	. . . .	136,413. 10. 11.	140,193. 8. 7	. . . .	1,895,349. 8. 7.
1637	8	1,557,838. 11. 9.	721,867. 6. 14	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	393,494. 12. 3.	2.673,200. 10. 10.
1638	7	1,051,973. 0. 10.	270,730. 10. 9	168,440. 11. 7.	. . . .	178,926. 9. 13	. . . .	1,670 070. 12. 7.
1639	8	1 513.732. 14. 14	1,149,549. 6. 10	. . . .	416,130. 11. 10.	. . . .	. . . .	3,079.412. 13. 2.
1640	10	1.284,035. 5. 7.	568,744. 18. 10	436,684. 10. 8.	. . . .	227,599. 18. 12	325,340. 8. 4	2,842.405. 1. 9.
1641	10	1,605,562. 13. 12	753,087. 13. 6.	. . . .	152,701. 9. 7	98,571. 17. 1.	296,193. 4. 1.	2,906,116. 17. 11.
1642	9	2 210,259. 14. 5.	865,531. 3. 13	. . . .	. . . .	109,370. 16. 4	. . . .	3,485 191. 14. 6.
1643	10	1,345 763. 18. 10.	658,376. 19. 1	259,071. 12. 3.	249,587. 0. 10	174,009. 13. 0.	241,073. 1. 13.	3,227,882. 5. 5.
1644	7	715,048. 19. 9.	766,942. 8. 15.	. . . .	. . . .	330,927. 12. 15.	257,747. 8. 14.	2,070,666. 10. 5.
1645	8	1,672,108. 19. 5.	877,639. 5. 6.	372,058. 3. 0	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	2,921,806. 7. 11.
1646	9	1,102,668. 11. 6.	602,816. 0. 10.	. . . .	307,569. 19. 5	289,925. 14. 14	216 630. 3. 15.	2,529,610. 10. 2.
1647	10	1,120,414 11. 8.	524,888. 10. 14	185,699. 17. 12.	. . . .	173,704. 12. 9.	146,324. 18. 6.	2,151,032. 11. 1.
1648	12	803,982. 11. 11.	513,239. 13. 11.	139,629. 18. 10.	203,836. 7. 3	166,022. 15. 13.	146.919. 1. 8.	2,073,630 8. 8.
1649	9	1 214,552. 9. 4	560,270. 3. 2	155,8,7. 11. 9	312,406. 1. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	2.243 106. 5. 4.
1650	9	874,191. 13. 1.	415,688. 0. 7	. . . .	251,574. 2. 10	210,152. 17. 7.	194,810. 15. 8.	1 ,46 417. 9. 1.
1651	11	1,253,949. 6. 10.	519,393. 16. 5.	233,504. 19. 15.	257,232. 6. 8	246,007. 18. 0	189,902. 14. 7.	2,699,991. 1. 13.
1652	11	1,528,155. 18. 10.	791.708. 15. 8	. . . .	267,612. 11. 3	225,960. 8. 8	. . . .	2,813,427. 13. 13.
1653	16	2,574,846. 18. 2.	1,344,125. 3. 0.	133,278. 5. 10.	231,029. 6. 13	117,089. 14. 4.	344,878. 12. 10.	4,745,239. 0. 7.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1654	4	190,325. 1. 15.	88,122. 7. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	100,587. 10. 7	379,034. 19. 11.
1655	10							
among which one hired ship		1,208,540. 0. 1.	664,688. 14. 11.	288,282. 8. 12.	. . . .	305,601. 0. 9.	. . . .	2,467,112. 4. 1.
1656	10	1,525,189. 7. 4.	480,982. 6. 12.	151,041. 18. 0.	315.985. 18. 15	. . . .	238,714 11. 5	2,711 914. 2. 4.
1657	10	1,511,190. 13. 8.	831,680. 7. 11.	166,721. 18. 6	323,848. 4. 4.	190,414. 5. 5.	. . . .	3,023,855. 9. 2.
1658	10	1,142,519. 6. 11	694.267. 13. 1	146,872. 9. 7.	191,940. 9. 9	361,516. 12. 12.	466,158. 3. 3.	3,003,274. 14. 11
1659	10	651,923. 3. 6	349.988. 8. 11.	202,700. 7. 12.	142 837. 1. 5.	213,762. 3. 10.	221,571. 11. 2	1,782,782. 15 14.
1660	11	1-494,086. 15. 8	691,669. 6. 0.	221,080. 9. 10.	247,719. 10. 13.	264,335. 13. 0	276,426. 16. 8	3,195,318. 11. 7.
1661	9	1,189,941. 13. 10	561,654. 12. 4.	. . . . .	169,187. 10. 0.	213,006. 16. 6.	. . . .	2,133.790. 12. 4.
1662	9	1,723,990. 7. 15	819,038. 9. 3	371,963. 6. 3.	. . . .	. . . .	439,431. 12. 0.	3,354,428. 15. 5.
1663	10	1,760,642. 16. 1.	829,553. 4. 11.	. . . .	333,979. 10. 7.	400,718. 11. 13.	. . . .	3,324.894. 3. 0.
1664	12	1,371,413. 4. 3.	679,467. 15. 14	255,106. 6. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	222,837. 10. 11	2,528,824. 17. 1.
1665	13	1,904.663. 10. 0.	919,297. 17. 13.	. . . .	386,122. 12. 2	438,407. 15. 3.	. . . .	3,648,491. 15. 2.
1666	7	645 846. 8. 15	317,114. 0. 13.	88,721. 1. 5.	. . . .	. . . .	72,498. 18. 7.	1,124,180. 9. 8.
1667	12	1,453,344. 2. 15	817,793. 7. 9	195 537. 10. 15.	266,545. 12. 13.	123,269. 17. 0.	262,569. 16. 4	3,119,060. 7. 8.
1668	16	1,801,499. 7. 14.	578 864. 18. 1.	209,943. 14. 7	170,219. 1. 0.	268,129. 0. 14.	127,026. 9. 6.	3,155,682. 11. 10.
1669	19	2,481,008. 6. 9.	817,469. 13. 12.	218,138. 14. 13	205,520. 9. 7	160,989. 14. 15.	143,353. 18. 12.	4,026,480. 18. 4.
1670	19	2,545.996. 0. 15.	1,233,897. 17. 2.	213,638. 9. 1	312,624. 10. 3.	281,732. 3. 1.	436,260. 15. 0.	5,024,149. 15. 6.
1671	18	2,444.344. 6. 7.	1,423,060. 11. 1.	298,488. 12. 8	374,168. 14. 1.	248,480. 13. 7.	397,871. 8. 6.	5,186,414. 5. 14.
1672	15	1 558,550. 9. 14	1,134,039. 0. 11.	308,392. 19. 12.	373,660. 18. 11.	253,777. 17. 13	395,576. 16. 7.	4,023.998. 3. 4.
1673	7	383,636. 4. 1.	302,854. 13. 11	256,423. 18. 15.	268,643. 6. 9.	213,744. 3. 6.	263,014. 1. 1.	1,688,316. 7. 11.
1674	9	727,692. 1. 15.	535,570. 12. 8	135,167. 13. 13	126,099. 6. 12.	127,950. 15. 5.	183,534. 9. 15.	1,836,015. 0. 4.
1675	14	1,836,355. 14. 7	792,691. 17. 14.	210,177. 2. 8.	216,086. 19. 12.	235,973. 16. 7.	258,232. 1. 8.	3,549,517. 12. 8.
1676	15	1,955,847. 3. 9.	1,030,463. 2. 4	280,655. 4. 6.	327,262. 3. 4.	307,597. 11. 4	225,831. 5. 13.	4,127,656. 10. 8.
1677	15	1,726,825. 16. 14	808,003. 11. 12	206,847. 6. 10.	222,753. 18. 4	324,697. 4 11.	286,355. 5. 1	3.575,483. 3. 4.
1678	11	1,347,176. 3. 8	937,556. 14. 7.	70,019. 6. 1.	. . . . .	. . . . .	104,986. 10. 13.	2,459.738. 13. 13.
1679	12	1,751,877. 14. 13.	1,074,196. 3. 8.	238,738. 10. 9.	337,618. 12. 2	251,737. 12. 11	235,435. 19. 3	3,889,604. 12. 14.
1680	11	1,576,821. 3. 6.	1,031,783. 11. 11.	225,653. 15. 11.	178,942. 16. 5	203,830. 13. 8.	169,539. 13. 13.	3,386,576. 14. 6.
1681	13	2,540,946. 9. 9	1,230,987. 8. 0.	306,094. 9. 12.	307,233. 8. 6.	364,043. 16. 12.	361,591. 16. 6.	5,110,897. 8. 13.

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delfe.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1682	8	1,355,035. 1. 8.	1,204 411. 13. 6.	152,418. 15. 11.	154,956. 14. 9.	60,186. 15. 5	62,181. 6. 5.	2,987,190. 6. 12.
1683	11	2,475,988. 11. 14.	1,402,839. 4. 13.	243 603. 7. 6.	186,817. 1. 11.	363,856. 17. 0.	236,203. 14. 13.	4.909.308. 17. 9.
1684	15	3,782,907. 3. 5	1,272,335. 16. 2	187,805. 4. 9	538,017. 7. 1.	184,115. 9. 5.	315,209. 14. 7.	5,080,390. 14. 13.
1685	14	1,997,904. 19. 15	927,539. 12. 7.	323,155. 0. 6.	207,750. 8. 5.	353,916. 10. 5	383,462. 14. 5.	4,193,729. 5. 11.
1686	16	2,848,720. 0. 2.	1,228.999. 17. 9.	349,336. 15. 3.	386,280. 11. 0.	372,569. 12. 0.	382,737. 8. 6.	5,568,644. 4. 4.
1687	16	3,013,458. 9. 2.	1,513,916. 17. 13	363,086. 17. 6.	350,271. 12. 15.	256,808. 19. 4.	133,396. 19. 4.	5,630,939. 15. 12.
1688	15	2,240,434. 2. 6.	987,468. 18. 14.	248,269. 13. 4	246,062. 19. 5	267,544. 19. 5.	316,031. 9. 5.	4,305,812. 2. 5.
1689	15	1,581,579. 1. 13	920,969. 10. 10.	105,177. 11. 6.	108,527. 12. 3.	108,138. 13. 9.	268,503. 10. 8.	3,092,896. 0. 1.
1690	17	1,746,796. 15. 14	869,583. 5. 14.	298,653. 6. 1.	285,491. 6. 6	323,446. 19. 3.	315,497. 1. 3.	3,839.468. 14. 4.
1691	8	1.932,475. 4. 9.	277,916. 15. 1.	95.953. 8. 9	93,758. 13. 4	. . . . .	. . . . .	2,400,104. 1. 7.
1692	12	2,259,859. 17. 15.	1,039,366. 7. 10.	172,991. 19. 8.	282,820. 2. 0.	290.783. 9. 8.	201,056. 15. 8.	4,246,878. 11. 1.
1693	15	1,331 735. 1. 8.	722,817. 16. 0.	327,673. 10. 0	299,630. 0. 8.	331,559. 2. 8.	322,820. 13. 0.	3,336,236. 3. 8.
1694	12 &	1,078,685. 5. 0	618,515. 16. 8.	242,049. 9. 0.	240,279. 9. 8.	408,750. 3. 0.	193,653. 18. 8.	2,988,926. 16. 0.
		132,928. 13. 0.	74 064. 1. 8.	for goods brought the year before without invoices				
1695	15	2,069,033. 13. 8.	1,607,638. 9. 0.	387,080. 8. 0.	366,015. 13. 8.	339,725. 4. 8.	384.974. 14. 0.	5,154,468. 2. 8.
		including likewise some goods sent, in 1694, by two ships without invoices						
1696	12	1,720,271. 13. 8.	885.450. 17. 0.	222,581. 2 8.	243 037. 13. 8.	230,459. 1. 8.	230 443. 2. 8.	3,532,243. 10. 8.
1697	19	2.912,099. 6. 0.	1,634,621. 15. 8.	209,661. 13. 0.	218,010. 1. 0.	206,523. 18. 8.	229,600. 14. 8.	5,410,517. 8. 8.
1698	19	2,598.196. 6. 8.	1,548,221. 10. 8.	273,623. 3. 8	280,528. 5. 8.	243,578. 11. 0.	429,108. 3. 8.	5,373,256. 0. 8.
1699	17	2,828,111. 8. 8.	1,290,616. 7. 0	276,386. 3. 0.	283,711. 17. 8.	238,545. 13. 0	403,918. 7. 8.	5,321,289. 16. 8.
1700	18	2,815,969. 3. 0.	1,238,698. 17. 0.	335,608. 15. 0.	285,369. 2. 8.	409,087. 8. 8.	214,018. 0. 0.	5,298,741. 6. 0.
1701	20	3,198,095. 17. 8.	1,432,345. 11. 0	418,426. 16. 8.	415,665. 8. 0.	406,020. 0. 8.	423,148. 18. 0.	6,293,702. 11. 8.
1702	21	3,206,217. 16. 0.	1,774,559. 13. 8.	424,769. 15. 0.	337,288. 8. 8.	558,061. 12. 8.	425,064. 12. 8.	6,725,961. 18. 0.
		and wine from the Cape of Good Hope, being the first time it appears to have been brought to Holland						470. 0. 0.
1703	18	2,962,482. 2. 8.	1,402,590. 5. 0	377,141. 6. 8.	542,129. 16. 8.	419,362. 11. 8.	473,741. 15. 8.	6,177,447. 17. 8.
1704	21	2,591,608. 4. 0	1,467,323. 3. 0.	281,646. 5. 0.	314,989. 4. 0.	433,752. 8. 8.	292,876. 13. 0.	5,382,195. 17. 8.
1705	18	2,491,158. 4. 8.	1,112,687. 10. 8.	267,738. 16. 0	236,098. 14. 8.	226,270. 14. 0.	269,403. 13. 8.	4,603,357. 13. 0.
1706	17	2,389,630. 4. 8.	1,061,372. 19. 8.	434,229. 4 0.	237,285. 3. 8.	388,529. 5. 8	208,552. 19. 0.	4,719,599. 16. 0.
1707	15	1,962,528. 18. 0.	1,033,210. 15. 0	228,980. 10. 8.	378,239. 5. 8.	261,508. 13. 0.	384,063. 3. 0.	4,248,531. 5. 0.
1708	18	2,581,829. 16. 8.	1,308,016. 19. 8.	284,542. 7. 0	394,443. 14. 0.	245,485. 8. 8	405,410. 10. 0.	5,219,728. 15. 8.

(No. IV. continued.)

Years.	Ships.	Amsterdam.	Zealand.	Delft.	Rotterdam.	Horn.	Enkhuizen.	Totals.
1709	18	2,633,246. 0. 0.	1,650,919. 10. 8.	305,523. 9. 8.	237,289. 15. 8.	414,643. 18. 8.	235,816. 9. 8.	5,477,439. 3. 8.
1710	21	3,193,911. 11. 0.	1,379,463. 14. 0.	225,081. 18. 8.	238,539. 18. 0.	301,610. 6. 8.	394,390. 10. 0.	5,732,997. 18. 0.
1711	20	2,605,571. 8. 8.	1,222,526. 4. 8.	511,212. 7. 0.	273,202. 13. 8.	260,255. 5. 0.	439,101. 7. 8.	5,311,869. 6. 0.
1712	21	3,047,948. 13. 8.	1,680,537. 7. 8.	281,885. 5. 8.	561,182. 10. 8.	252,183. 16. 0.	288,084. 16. 8.	6,111,822. 9. 8.
1713	17	2,028,900. 18. 8.	1,124,550. 2. 0.	320,912. 4. 0.	332,943. 9. 8.	534,355. 17. 8.	342,980. 12. 8.	4,684,643. 4. 0.
1714	21							5,260,127. 14. 8.
1715	27							7,730,000. 9. 0.
1716	28							6,825,290. 7. 8.
1717	28							7,299,511. 13. 0.
1718	24						about	7,175,000. 0. 0.
1719	30						about	8,352,000. 0. 0.
1720	26						about	7,600,000. 0. 0.
1721	34						about	10,235,000. 0. 0.
1722	26	besides six ships lost near the Cape, and six in Table-bay						not ascertained.
1723	29						*about*	*8,800,000. 0. 0.*
1724	31							not ascertained.

N N 2

No. V.

Account of the number of ships sent out by the East-India Company of Holland, the number of men, and the amount of specie they carried, the number of ships returned, the proceeds of sales, and the dividends on the stock, from 1720 to 1729.

Years.	Ships sent out.	Crews.	Specie carried out.	Ships returned.	Proceeds of Sales.	Dividends per ct.
1720	36	8,205	*f.*4,125,000. 0.	26	19,597,874*f.* 12*s.* 0*p.*	40
1721	40	8,000	6,825,000. 0.	34	14,985,072. 13. 0.	33½
1722	41	7,400	7,075,000. 0.	26	19,494,365. 19. 0.	30
1723	38	7,785	6,887,000. 0.	29	16,247,505. 17. 0.	12½
1724	38	6,425	7,419,000. 0.	31	20,577,447. 9. 0.	15
1725	35	6,250	7,412,500. 0.	36	19,385,441. 10. 0.	20
1726	38	6,850	7,675,000. 0.	32	21,312,626. 8. 0.	25
1727	40	6,400	8,091,994. 0.	36	18,564,986. 17. 0.	20
1728	34	5,800	5,558,100. 0.	28	20,322,402. 0. 0.	15
1729	34	6,390	4,525,000. 0.	25	18,100,116. 12. 9.	25
total in ten years	374	69,505	65,593,594. 0.	303	188,587,839. 17. 9.	236
average for one year	37 to 38	6,950	6,559,359. 8.	30 to 31	18,858,783. 19. 12.	23⅗

No. VI.

STATEMENT of the original capital ſtock of the general united Eaſt-India Company of Holland, eſtabliſhed in 1602, ſpecifying the reſpective proportions in which each of the ſix chambers were originally intereſted in it.

Amſterdam . . .	*f.*3,674,915.
Zealand	1,333,882.
Delft	470,000.
Rotterdam . . .	177,400.
Hoorn	266,868.
Enkhuizen . . .	536,775.
together .	*f.*6,459,840.

divided into 2,153 actions, or ſhares, of *f.*3,000. each
and 1 ditto of 840.

No. VII.

Account of the dividends upon the ſtock of the Eaſt-India Companies of Holland, from 1604 to 1780;—and of the revolutions in the value of the ſtock, from 1723 to 1780.

The Company of diſtant countries, and the Company of Magellan united, divided, in 1604 125 per cent.

	1605	55
	1607	10
	1608	10
	1613	4½
which balanced their accounts		204½

The Company concerned in the equipment of fourteen ſhips in 1602, divided, in - 1605 15 per cent.

	1606	75
	1607	40
	1608	20
	1609	25
	1611	50
	1612	37
	1614	3
which balanced their accounts		265

The above dividends were, however, made by the general United Eaſt-India Company, eſtabliſhed in 1602, to whom the liquidation of the affairs of the former Companies was committed, and who began and continued the dividends upon their own ſtock, as follows:

Years.	Months.	Per ct.		
1610	in April	75	in mace	
	in Nov.	50	in pepper	
	15 ditto	7½	in bankmoney	
1611				
1612	in March	30	in nutmegs	at 19, 20, & 22
1613				ſkillings per *lb.*
1614				
1615				
1616				
1617				

1618

Years.	Months.	Perct.		
1618				
1619				
1620	in April	37½	in bankmoney	
1621				
1622				
1623	in Nov.	25	in cloves	at 60 ſtivers pr. *lb.*
1624				
1625	in Aug.	20	in bankmoney	
1626				
1627	in March	12½	in bankmoney	
1628				
1629	in Jan.	25	in bankmoney	
1630				
1631	in Jan.	17½	in bankmoney	
1632				
1633	in June	12½	in bankmoney	
	in Dec.	20	in ditto	
1634				
1635	in March	20	in bankmoney	
	15 May	12½	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	20 Aug.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1636	1 March	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	12½	in ditto	ditto
1637	1 March	15	in ditto	ditto
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
1638	1 Oct.	10	in capalete	at 40 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Dec.	25	in bankmoney	
1639				
1640	1 Jan.	15	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Nov.	25	in bankmoney	
1641	15 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 80 ſt. per *lb.*
	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	at 50 ditto
1642	15 Dec.	50	in bankmoney	
1643	1 Feb.	15	in cloves	at 50 ſt. per *lb.*
1644	1 Nov.	25	in ditto	ditto
	1 Dec.	20	in bankmoney	
1645				
1646	1 Jan.	22½	in bankmoney	
	1 Dec.	25	in ditto	
1647				
1648	1 Jan.	25	in bankmoney	
1649	1 Jan.	30	in ditto	

Years.	Months.	Per ct.	
1650	1 Jan.	20	in bankmoney
1651	1 Jan.	15	in ditto
1652	1 Jan.	25	in ditto
1653	1 Jan.	12½	in ditto
1654	15 June	15	in ditto
1655	1 Jan.	12½	in ditto
1656	1 Dec.	27½	in ditto
1657			
1658	1 Dec.	40	in bankmoney
1659	1 Dec.	12½	in ditto
1660	1 Nov.	40	in ditto
1661	15 Nov.	25	in ditto
1662			
1663	15 Nov.	30	in bankmoney
1664			
1665	15 Jan.	27½	in bankmoney
1666			
1667			
1668	1 June	12½	in bankmoney
1669	1 July	12½	in ditto
1670	2 June	40	in ditto
1671	1 June	45	in ditto
	20 July	15	in ditto
1672	2 June	15	in ditto
1673	1 June	33	in obligations on the province of Holland
1674			
1675			
1676	1 Feb.	25	in bankmoney
1677			
1678			
1679	1 Jan.	12½	in obligations on the general Company, repayable at the option of the Company, with 4 per ct. intereſt per annum; afterwards reduced to 3 per ct.
1680	1 Jan.	25	in ditto
1681	1 Jan.	22	in ditto
1682	1 July	33⅓	in ditto
1683			
1684			
1685	1 Feb.	40	in bankmoney
1686	1 May	12	in ditto

1687

Years.	Months.	Per ct.	
1687	15 April	20	in bankmoney
1688	15 April	33⅓	in ditto
1689	15 April	33⅓	in ditto
1690	15 April	40	in ditto
1691	1 Aug.	20	in ditto
1692	15 April	25	in ditto
1693	1 April	20	in ditto
1694	1 April	20	in ditto
1695	1 Nov.	25	in ditto
1696	1 June	15	in obligations on the feveral chambers, at 3⅓ per cent. per ann. repayable by inſtalments, and finally to be reimburſed in 1740.
1697	1 June	15	in ditto
1698	1 June	15	in ditto
	15 Sep.	15	in bankmoney
1699	1 June	20	in ditto
	1 Dec.	15	in ditto
1700	15 July	25	in ditto
1701	20 May	20	in ditto
1702	15 May	20	in ditto
1703	16 May	25	in ditto
1704	16 June	25	in ditto
1705	25 May	25	in ditto
1706	1 May	25	in ditto
1707	15 April	25	in ditto
1708	1 May	25	in ditto
1709	15 May	25	in ditto
1710	1 May	25	in ditto
1711	15 May	25	in ditto
1712	1 May	15	in ditto
1713	1 May	30	in ditto
1714	1 May	33⅓	in ditto
1715	1 April	40	in ditto
1716	1 May	40	in ditto
1717	1 May	40	in ditto
1718		40	in ditto
1719		40	in ditto
1720		40	in ditto
1721		33⅓	in ditto
1722		30	in ditto

Years.	Per ct.		Prices of the ſtock. from	to
1723	12½	in bankmoney	654 per cent	631 per cent
1724	15	in ditto	603	654
1725	20	in ditto	614	660
1726	25	in ditto	658	563
1727	20	in ditto	560	658
1728	15	in ditto	655	612
1729	25	in ditto	628	679
1730	25	in ditto	715	650
1731	25	in ditto	692	742
1732	25	in ditto	779	711¼
1733	25	in ditto	644	788
1734	25	in ditto	754	647
1735	25	in ditto	645	714
1736	20	in ditto	756	675
1737	15	in ditto	532	586½
1738	15	in ditto	585	534
1739	15	in ditto	494	572
1740	12½	in ditto	506	403
1741	12½	in ditto	391	439
1742	12½	in ditto	403	350
1743	12½	in ditto	350	434
1744	15	in ditto	407	464½
1745	15	in ditto	470½	420
1746	20	in ditto	368	450
1747	20	in ditto	434	369
1748	20	in ditto	366	455
1749	25	in ditto	423	495
1750	25	in ditto	489	594
1751	25	in ditto	603	575
1752	25	in ditto	580	546½
1753	20	in ditto	559½	534
1754	20	in ditto	555½	507½
1755	20	in ditto	515½	407½
1756	20	in ditto	404½	446
1757	20	in ditto	555½	507½
1758	15	in ditto	458	396
1759	15	in ditto	386½	417
1760	15	in ditto	414	378
1761	15	in ditto	390	335
1762	15	in ditto	323	379
1763	15	in ditto	407	353½

1764

Years.	Per ct.		Prices of the ſtock.	
			from	to
1764	15	in bankmoney	374 per cent	406 per cent
1765	17½	in ditto	406	585
1766	20	in ditto	593	546
1767	20	in ditto	580½	503
1768	20	in ditto	518	455
1769	20	in ditto	472	410
1770	15	in ditto	412	325
1771	12½	in ditto	314	386
1772	12½	in ditto	369	326
1773	12½	in ditto	323	363
1774	12½	in ditto	336	363
1775	12½	in ditto	340	357
1776	12½	in ditto	340	359
1777	12½	in ditto	355	382
1778	12½	in ditto	380	340
1779	12½	in ditto	357	322
1780	12½	in ditto	328	323

No. VIII.

A STATEMENT of the various articles, and quantities of each, sold at the Dutch East-India Company's sales, from 1775 to 1779.

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of cinnamon	400,000	400,000	400,000	350,000	300,000
pounds of cloves	400,000	400,000	400,000	234,271	400,000
pounds of nutmegs	250,000	250,000	250,000	264,189	250,000
pounds of mace	90,000	100,000	80,000	85,000	80,000
bags of black pepper	8,297	10,667	10,000	9,546	12,300
pounds of white pepper	84,993	84,998	52,355	88,991	34,427
pounds of candied ginger	10,346	11,232	11,257	10,064	10,881
candied nutmegs	900	1,000	900	800	1,871
pounds of cowries	125,437	69,286	44,357		51,984
bottles of soy				120	120
pounds of saltpetre	2,374,083	1,286,217	2,568,315	2,350,000	3,098,838
pounds of sundry dying woods	645,231	743,842	806,123	622,125	645,200
pounds of indigo	11,364	12,261	9,460	11,256	10,538
pounds of turmeric	60,000	70,000	65,625	60,875	61,250
pounds of powder-sugar	349,657	936,975	533,918	636,006	498,289
pounds of tin	540,000	840,000	177,450	379,705	484,442
pounds of zinc	209,101	200,061	337,520	34,199	162,200
pounds of cardemom	13,654	12,997	6,370	7,070	6,783

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of camphor	40,253	50,372	27,060	29,200	26,301
pounds of borax	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	4,000
pounds of benzoin	1,496	3,625	8,980	18,625	8,625
pounds of caſhoo	8,000	4,000	1,200	1,500	2,500
pounds of dragons-blood	990	1,000	2,496		3,142
pounds of ſundry gums	18,184	21,410	18,431	14,762	15,828
pounds of long pepper	10,000	15,000	16,500	9,011	17,000
pounds of cubebs	10,000	10,000	8,875	6,850	12,500
pounds of rhubarb and other roots	101,027	107,562	80,415	57,246	58,174
pounds of ſago	21,603	17,812	18,348	17,706	15,607
pounds of ſtar-aniſe		6,157	5,434	3,431	3,096
mother-of-pearl ſhells		7,000	4,295	9,016	7,614
ounces of oil of cinnamon		240	160	160	160
ounces of oil of mace	320	360	240	120	320
ounces of oil of cloves		256	256	64	320
ounces of oil of nutmegs	320	384	200	320	
carats of diamonds	970½	549	1,339	130½	41
pounds of binding rattans	3,528	3,918	37,500	18,750	18,750
pounds of tamarands			50,000	120,000	12,000
awms of Cape wine	59	58	52	24	52
leagers of arrack		45	17		39

(No. VIII. continued.)

Articles.	1775.	1776.	1777.	1778.	1779.
pounds of raw silk	58,388	72,271	122,321	81,498	57,313
pounds of silk thread	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	13,050
pounds of cotton yarn	78,687	77,090	90,750	71,717	108,733
pounds of Java coffee	6,176,000	5,539,250	4,256,250	4,000,000	3,710,641
pounds of tea	3,703,904	3,786,284	3,921,588	1,893,329	1,848,545
chests of china-ware	2,557	2,966	2,098	875	1,431
pieces of silk	3,715	7,225	9,928	8,676	6,136
pieces of muslin, cottons, &c.	308,449	244,200	299,395	326,075	385,650
pieces of handkerchiefs	2,700	4,060	3,000	6,278	5,433
pieces of nankeen	35,125	34,911	47,006	24,186	27,910

No. IX.

Abſtract of the *Herbarius Vivus*, or Herbal, of HENRY BERNARD OLDELARD, ſuperintendent of the Company's garden at the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the year 1695.

ABUTILON africanum, foliis, rugoſis, et ſiliculis lanuginoſis.
Abſinthium africanum fruteſcens, foliis latioribus.
Alium africanum, flore purpuraſcente.
1 Aloe africana arboreſcens, montana, non ſpinoſa, folio longiſſimo plicatili, flore rubro.
2 Aloe africana arboreſcens, floribus albicantibus fragrantiſſimis.
3 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis ſpinoſis, maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notatis.
4 Aloe africana breviſſima, craſſiſſimoque folio, flore ſubviridi.
5 Aloe, africano flore glabro, rigidiſſimo, flore ſubviridi.
6 Aloe africana flore rubro, folio maculis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.
7 Aloe africana, flore rubro, folio, triangulari, et verrucis ab utraque parte albicantibus notato.
8 Aloe africana, folio in ſummitate triangulari, margaritifera, flore ſubviridi.
9 Aloe africana margaritifera, minor.
10 Aloe africana foliis glaucis, margine et dorſi parte ſuperiore ſpinoſis, flore rubro.
11 Aloe africana, foliis glaucis, margine et dorſo integro ſpinoſis.
12 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus.
13 Aloe africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, floribus luteis et fœtibus.
14 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis magis glaucis caulem amplectentibus, et in mucronem obtuſiorem deſinentibus.

15 Aloe

15. Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis minus glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorſi parte ſuperiore ſpinoſa.
16 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus latioribus, et undequaque ſpinoſis.
17 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis, caulem amplectentibus, dorſo integro ſpinoſo.
18 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis brevioribus, caulem amplectentibus, foliorum parte interna et externa non nihil ſpinoſa.
19 Aloe africana cauleſcens, foliis glaucis breviſſimis, foliorum ſummitate interna et externa non nihil ſpinoſa.
20 Aloe africana cauleſcens perfoliata, glauca et non ſpinoſa.
21 Aloe africana, glabro folio, minutiſſimis cavitatibus donato.
22 Aloe africana humilis, ſpiris inermibus et verrucis obſita.
23 Aloe africana humilis Arachnoidæa.
24 Aloe africana humilis, foliis ex albo et viridi variegatis.
25 Aloe africana humilis, folio non nihil reflexo, floribus ex albo et rubro variegatis.
26 Aloe africana humilis, folio in ſummitate triangulari et rigidiſſimo, marginibus albicantibus.
27 Aloe africana erecta, triangularis, et triangularifolio viſcoſo.
28 Aloe africana erecta, rotunda, folio parvo et in acumen rigidiſſimum exeunte.
1 Alaternoides africana, Ericæ foliis, floribus albicantibus et muſcoſis.
2 Alaternoides africana, Telephini legitimi nuperati folio, flore viridi.
3 Alaternoides africana, Lawri ſerrate folio.
4 Alaternoides africana, Chamæmeſpili folio rigidiore et minore, floribus albicantibus.
5 Alaternoides africana, Roris marini latiori et piloſiori folio, flore cæruleo.
Althæa africana veſicaria.
Amygdalus africana nana, flore incurvato roſeo ſimplici, folio Mali perſici anguſtiore.
1 Anæmoſpermos africana, foliis Cardui benedicti, florum radiis intus ſulphureis.

2 Anæmoſpermos

2 Anæmoſpermos africana, foliis Plantaginis, flore ſulphureo.
3 Anæmoſpermos africana, Jacobææ maritimæ foliis, flore ſulphureo.
1 Apocynum africanum erectum, villoſo fructu, Salicis folio lato, glabro.
2 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, ſubhirſuto.
3 Apocynum africanum erectum, Salicis folio lato, glabro anguſto.
4 Apocynum africanum humile, aizoides, ſiliquis erectis.
5 Apocynum africanum erectum, ſubhirſutum, foliis undulatis.
6 Apocynum ſcandens africanum Vincæ pervincæ foliis, ſubincanum.
7 Apocynum africanum ſcandens, Aſphodeli radice, anguſtiſſimo folio.
8 Apocynum africanum ſcandens, Lapati folio.
Arum æthiopicum florigerum et fructum ferens, radice magna orbiculari.
Arum africanum, flore albo odorato.
Arum maximum ægyptiacum, quod vulgo Colocaſſia audit.
1 Aſclepias africana aizoides.
2 Aſclepias africana, longioribus foliis minus dentatis.
3 Aſclepias africana, flore pulchre fimbriato.
Argyrodentros africana, foliis ſericis et argenteis.
Aſparagus ſylveſtris africanus aculeatus.
Aſphodelus africanus, anguſtis foliis luteis, minor.
Aſplenium africanum ramoſum, maximum, caulibus ſplendentibus.
1 After africanus, Jacobææ foliis, flore aureo.
2 After africanus, Stæchatis foliis, flore aureo.
3 After africanus ramoſus, Hyſopi foliis, floribus cæruleis.
4 After africanus ramoſus, floribus albis.
5 After africanus, Helegriſi folio, flore rubro.
6 After africanus fruteſcens, foliis anguſtis, et plerumque conjunctis.
7 After africanus fruteſcens, ſplendentibus parvis et reflexis foliis.
8 After africanus fruteſcens, Lavendulæ folio, flore purpureo.
9 After africanus annuus, Senecionis foliis.

10 Aſter africanus fruteſcens, foliis Senecionis craſſioribus.

Aſteroplatii Carpos africana fruteſcens, Crithmi marini foliis.

Aſtragalus africanus odoratus, flore luteo.

1 Bellis africana, florum pediculis pene aphyllis foliis inciſis.

2 Bellis africana, florum pediculis folioſis, foliis anguſtis et integris.

3 Bellis africana, capitulo aphyllo luteo, Coronopi folio, cauliculis procumbentibus.

4 Bellis africana, Capitulo aphyllo luteo, foliis et cauliculis junceis erectis.

1 Bryonia africana glabra, foliis in profundas lacinias diviſis, fructu minori.

2 Bryonia africana lacincata, tuberoſa radice, floribus herbaceis.

Calendula, ſive Caltha africana humilis, flore intus albo, floris violaceo ſimplici.

1 Campanula africana annua, hirſuta, latis ferratiſque foliis, flore magno violaceo.

2 Campanula africana annua, glabra, ferrato folio, flore pallido.

3 Campanula africana annua, hirſuta, parvo anguſtoque folio, flore pallido violaceo.

4 Campanula africana, annua, anguſtifolia, flore purpuraſcente, major.

5 Campanula africana annua, anguſtifolia, flore purpuraſcente, minor.

6 Campanula africana fruteſcens, aculeoſa, flore violaceo.

7 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis erectis.

8 Campanula africana minor, Erini facie, flore violaceo, cauliculis procumbentibus.

Camphorata africana umbellata, fruteſcens.

Canna.

Cardamine africana trifolia (dicitur etiam Naſturtium) foliis ternis, facie Chriſtophorianæ.

Centurium majus africanum, laciniatum, flore aureo, odorato.

1 Centurium minus africanum, Lini foliis et facie, flore amplo ſuave rubente.

2 Centurium,

2 Centurium minus africanum, arboreſcens, latifolium, flore ruberrimo.
3 Centurium minus africanum, arboreſcens, anguſtiſſimum, flore ruberrimo.
4 Centurium minus africanum, arboreſcens, tulipiferum.
Cheirantos africana, flore luteo.
1 Chryſanthemum africanum Stœbes, foliis anguſtioribus.
2 Chryſanthemum africanum repens, flore aphylo, Coronopi folio.
Chryſanthemoides Oſteoſpergon africanum, odoratum, ſpinoſum et viſcoſum.
Ciſtus humilis aizoides maritimus africanus, flore rubello.
1 Colutea africana annua, foliis parvis mucronatis, veſiculis compreſſis.
2 Colutea africana annua, foliis cordatis, et veſiculis minus compreſſis.
3 Colutea africana, Sennæ foliis, flore ſanguineo.
4 Colutea africana humilis, flore ſanguineo, Crotolariæ ſiliquis.
1 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ anguſtis, major.
2 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Linariæ anguſtis, minor.
3 Coma aurea africana, Linariæ foliis glaucis et lanuginoſis.
4 Coma aurea africana fruticans, omnium maxima, foliis tomentoſis et incanis.
5 Coma aurea africana fruticans, Ericæ folio.
6 Coma aurea africana fruticans foliis glaucis, et in extremitate trifidis.
7 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis Crithmi marini.
8 Coma aurea africana fruticans, foliis inferioribus inciſis, ſuperioribus dentatis.
1 Conyza africana arboreſcens incana, floribus purpuroviolaceis, foliis Salviæ odore, odore Salviæ et Roris marini.
2 Conyza africana humilis, foliis anguſtioribus nervoſis, floribus umbellatis.
3 Conyza africana fruteſcens, foliis Salviæ, odore camphoræ.

4 Conyza africana fruteſcens, foliis Ericæ hamatis et incanis.
5 Conyza africana, fruteſcens, foliis Roris marini.
6 Conyza africana, Senecionis flore.
Cotula africana, calyce eleganti cæſio.
1 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, foliis orbiculatis, limbo purpureo cinctis.
2 Cotyledon africana, teretifolia, flore pulcherrimo.
3 Cotyledon africana, foliis oblongioribus, floribus umbellatis fibroſa radice.
4 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, folio longo et anguſto, flore flaveſcente.
5 Cotyledon africana fruteſcens, flore umbellato coccineo.
1 Cytiſus africanus argenteus, flore atro purpureo.
2 Cytiſus africanus hirſutus, anguſti-folius.
3 Cytiſus africanus herbaceus, floribus rubris.
1 Echium africanum fruteſcens, foliis piloſis.
2 Echium africanum perenne, Lycopſis facie.
1 Elichryſium africanum lanuginoſum, latifolium, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
2 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, calyce argenteo.
3 Elichryſium africanum lanuginoſum, anguſtiſſimo folio, calyce floris argenteo et ampliſſimo.
4 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, floris calyce aureo.
5 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, fruteſcens, Coris folio.
6 Elichryſium africanum incanum, tomentoſum, foliis ſubrotundis.
7 Elichryſium africanum umbellatum, odoratum luteum.
8 Elichryſium africanum fruteſcens, anguſtis et longioribus foliis, incanis.
9 Elichryſium africanum latifolium, fœtidum, capitulo aureo.
10 Elichryſium africanum luteum, Polii folio.
11 Elichryſium africanum tomentoſum, incanum, anguſtifolium floribus rubris.
12 Elichryſium africanum latifolium, fœtidum, capitulo aureo.
13 Elichryſium africanum fruteſcens, foliis Crithmi marini.

14 Elichryſium

14 Elichryſium arboreum africanum, Roris marini folio.
15 Elichryſium africanum, Plantaginis folio.
16 Elichryſium africanum fœtidiſſimum, ampliſſimo folio.
17 Elichryſium africanum inodorum, glabrum, Coronopi folio.
Ephemerum africanum annuum, flore bipetalo.
1 Erica africana viridis, anguſtiſſimis foliis, floſculis in capitulum congeſtis.
2 Erica africana, floſculis ſubhirſutis, ſecundum ramulos diſpoſitis.
3 Erica africana incana, foliis anguſtiſſimis.
4 Erica africana, capillaceo brevique folio, flore rotundiori purpureo.
5 Erica africana, folio minimo, flore rotundiori albido.
6 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo ſpicato.
7 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore oblongo, purpureo, e foliorum alis prodeunte.
8 Erica africana, Coris folio, flore breviori.
9 Erica africana, Coris folio, floribus veſicariis.
10 Erica africana, juniperifolia, flore oblongo ſpicato.
11 Erica africana, juniperifolia, flore oblongo umbellato.
Evonymus africanus, folio lucido ſerrato.
Fabago africana arboreſcens, flore ſulphureo, fructu rotundo.
Ferula africana galbanimifera, fruteſcens, Myrrhidis foliis.
1 Filicula africana maxima ramoſa, pinnulis tenuibus diſſectis.
2 Filicula africana, in acutas diviſa lacineis.
1 Filix africana maxima ramoſa, pinnulis irenatis.
2 Filix africana dentata, Lonchitidis facie.
3 Filix africana ramoſa, pinnulis Lonchitidis.
Fœniculum africanum, foliis in ſummitate atro rubentibus, ſeminibus anguſtis et longioribus.
Frutex africanus aromaticus, flore ſpicato, exiguo.
Frutex æthiopicus, Portulacæ folio, flore ex albido vireſcente.
Frutex africanus, Ericæ folio, glutinoſus, flore ſpicato albo.
Galega africana, floribus majoribus, et ſiliquis craſſioribus.

1 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, Ruſci nervoſi foliis.
2 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, anguſtis foliis.
3 Geniſta africana, Lavendulæ folio.
4 Geniſta africana juncea, floribus cæruleis, foliis minimis.
5 Geniſta africana minima, foliis Myrthi, in exquiſitum micronem definentibus.
6 Geniſta africana, Roris marini foliis, flore aureo.
7 Geniſta africana arboreſcens, argentea lanugine, pubeſcens.
8 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, ſpicata purpurea, foliis anguſtiſſimis.
9 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, foliis Torton-Raire, flore purpureo.
10 Geniſta africana, Laricis foliis longioribus et lanuginoſis.
11 Geniſta africana, Laricis, foliis craſſioribus et hirſutis.
12 Geniſta africana fruteſcens ſpicata, Laricis foliis.
13 Geniſta africana fruteſcens capitate.
14 Geniſta africana lutea, ſpicata, Laricis foliis.
15 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, capitulis lanuginoſis, Laricis breviſſimo folio.
16 Geniſta africana fruteſcens, capitulis lanuginoſis, Laricis incanit foliis.
17 Geniſta africana, camphoratæ folio, floribus luteis minimis.
18 Geniſta africana, foliis Gallii.
19 Geniſta africana, Dorycinii facie.
20 Geniſta africana arboreſcens, Styracis folio, flore cæruleo.
1 Geranium africanum arboreſcens, Ibiſci folio rotundo, Carlinæ odore.
2 Geranium africanum fruteſcens, Malvæ folio, lacinato, odorato, flore purpuraſcente.
3 Geranium africanum, Alchimillæ hirſuto folio, floribus albidis.
4 Geranium africanum arboreſcens, Alchimillæ hirſuto folio, floribus rubicundis.
5 Geranium africanum, Betonicæ folio lacinato et maculato, floribus incarnatis.
6 Geranium africanum, folio procumbente, floribus parvis eleganter variegatis.
7 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberoſum et nodoſum, et Aquilegiæ foliis.

8 Geranium

8 Geranium africanum noctu olens, Aquilegiæ folio, flore incarnato rubente.
9 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore ruberrimo, Anemones folio anguſtiori.
10 Geranium africanum noctu olens, flore rubro, Anemones folio anguſtiori.
11 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberoſa, foliis Paſtinacæ incanis, lanuginoſis, flore pallido flaveſcente.
12 Geranium africanum noctu olens, radice tuberoſa, foliis Paſtinacæ anguſtioribus.
13 Geranium africanum noctu olens, tuberoſum, Vitis foliis hirſutis.
14 Geranium africanum minus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
15 Geranium africanum, uvæ, criſpæ folio, floribus exiguis rubellis.
16 Geranium africanum majus, Coriandri folio, floribus incarnatis.
17 Geranium africanum, Altheæ folio, parvo flore.
18 Geranium africanum, foliis plerumque auratis, floribus ex rubro purpuraſcentibus.
19 Geranium africanum, Myrrhidis folio, flore albicante, radice rapacea.
20 Geranium africanum, foliis inferioribus Aſari, ſuperioribus Staphydis agriæ maculatis, ſplendentibus et acetoſo ſapore.
21 Geranium africanum, Aſtragali folio.
22 Geranium africanum fruteſcens, folio ocaſſo et glauco, acetoſoſapore.

Globularia africana fruteſcens, Thymelææ folio, lanuginoſo.

Hæmanthus africanus, ſive Tulipa africana, flore albo.

Hyacinthus africanus, flore cæruleo, umbellato, tuberoſus.

1 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Abrotani folio.
2 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Hormini folio.
3 Jacobæa africana, Sonchi folio.
4 Jacobæa africana, Dentis leonini folio.
5 Jacobæa africana, Abſinthii folio.
6 Jacobæa africana foliis integris, undulatis et criſpis.
7 Jacobæa africana laciniata, latifolia, flore purpureo.

8 Jacobæa africana laciniata, anguſtifolia, flore purpureo.
9 Jacobæa africana, radice tuberoſa.
10 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis inciſis et ſubtus cineraceis.
11 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis Abſinthii umbelliferi, incanis.
12 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Coronopi folio.
13 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, Lavendulæ folio latiori.
14 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, folio longo et glauco.
15 Jacobæa africana, Hederæ terreſtris folio, repens.
16 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, craſſis ſucculentis foliis.
17 Jacobæa africana fruteſcens, foliis rigidis et hirſutis.
1 Jaſminum africanum, foliis ſolitariis, floribus vulgatiori ſimilibus.
2 Jaſminum africanum, Ilicis folio, flore ſolitario, ex foliorum alis proveniente, albo.
1 Ketmia africana, Populi folio.
2 Ketmia africana, Populi folio, ſubtus incano, et caule vireſcente.
3 Ketmia africana veſicaria, folio tripartito, flore purpureo.
4 Ketmia africana veſicaria, fruticans, et erecta, Alni foliis latioribus et majoribus, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
5 Ketmia africana fruteſcens, foliis mollibus et incanis, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
6 Ketmia africana veſicaria, uvæ criſpæ foliis, flore ſpirali ſulphureo.
1 Laurus africana minor, Querci folio.
2 Laurus inodora africana, fructu globoſo Lauri ſerratæ, odoratæ Stapelianæ ſimilis.
3 Laurus africana.
Leonurus perennis africanus, Sideritidis folio, flore phœniceo majore villoſo.
1 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore, latifolium, hirſutum.
2 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore anguſto Coronopi folio, majus.
3 Leucoium africanum, cæruleo flore, anguſto Coronopi folio, minus.
1 Lilio-Narciſſus africanus humilis, longiſſimis foliis, polyanthos ſaturato colore purpuraſcens.

2 Lilio-

2 Lilio-Narciſſus africanus platicaulis humilis, flore purpuraſcente odorato.
1 Lothus africana annua, hirſuta, floribus luteis.
2 Lothus africana fruteſcens, flore ſpicato rubicundo.
Lychnis Pſeudo-melanthio ſimilis africana, glabra, anguſtifolia, flore eleganter rubello.
Lycium æthiopicum, Pyracanthæ folio.
Malva africana fruteſcens, flore rubro.
1 Melianthus africanus.
2 Melianthus africanus minor, humifuſus, foliis Pimpinellæ criſpæ.
3 Melianthus africanus minor, fœtidus.
Myrthus africana humilis, foliis Myrtilli crenatis, cauliculis nigricantibus.
Narciſſus africana, Polyanthos.
Olea africana humilis, ſylveſtris, folio duro, ſubtus incano.
Oreoſelinum aizoides arboreſcens, Liguſtici foliis et facie, flore luteo.
1 Ornithogalum africanum, luteum, odoratum, foliis cepaceis, radice tuberoſa.
2 Ornithogalum africanum, flore viridi, alteri innato.
3 Ornithogalum africanum, Plantaginis roſeæ folio, radice tuberoſa.
1 Oxus bulboſa africana rotundifolia, caulibus et floribus purpureis amplis.
2 Oxus bulboſa africana rotundifolia, virentibus floribus amplis, purpureis.
3 Oxus bulboſa æthiopica, ſive africana minor, folio cordato, flore ex albido purpuraſcente.
Petaſites africanus, Calthæ paluſtris folio, radice flaveſcente craſſa.
Phalangium africanum ramoſum, floribus albis, petalis reflexis.
1 Phaſeolus africanus hirſutus bituminoſus, ſiliquis bullatis, flore flaveo.
2 Phaſeolus africanus, parvo fructu, non nihil albicante.
3 Phaſeolus africanus perennis minor, flore ſuave rubente.
Planta lactaria africana.
Pimpinella africana ſaxifraga maxima.
Polypodium africanum maximum, acutiſſimè diviſum.

1 Polygala

1 Polygala africana fruteſcens anguſtiſſima, major.
2 Polygala africana fruteſcens, anguſtiſſima, minor.
3 Polygala africana, Lini folio, magno flore.
4 Polygala africana fruteſcens, Buxi folio, maxima flore.
5 Polygala africana arborea myrthifolia, floribus albis, intus purpureis.
Portulaca africana ſemper virens, flore rubicundo.
1 Pſeudo-dictamnus africanus, Hederæ terreſtris folio.
2 Pſeudo-dictamnus africanus, foliis ſubrotundis ſubtus incanis.
Ranunculus africanus ſeu æthiopicus, foliis rigidis, floribus ex luteo vireſcentibus.
Rapuntium africanum minus, anguſtifolium, flore violaceo.
Ricinus africanus maximus, caule geniculato rutilante.
Salix africana, anguſtis et longiſſimis foliis, ſubtus incanis.
1 Salvia africana fruteſcens, Scorodoniæ foliis, flore violaceo.
2 Salvia africana fruteſcens, folio ſubrotundo, glauco, flore magno aureo.
1 Scabioſa africana arboreſcens maxima, foliis rugoſis, et crenatis integris.
2 Scabioſa africana fruteſcens, foliis rigidis, ſplendentibus, et ſerratis, flore albicante.
3 Scabioſa africana, capitulo oblongo, flore albo.
Scilla africana, flore viridi parvo, bulbo ampliſſio.
1 Sclarea africana præcox annua.
2 Sclarea africana fruteſcens, Helianthemi folio.
1 Sedum africanum fruticoſum, Ericæ folio.
2 Sedum africanum arboreſcens, incanum, foliis orbiculatis.
3 Sedum africanum majus arboreſcens, foliis rotundioribus glaucis, limbo purpureo cinctis.
4 Sedum africanum umbellatum album, folio viridi anguſto, mucronatum, flore albo.
5 Sedum africanum annuum, Centaurii minoris facie, flore aureo.
Senecio africanus arboreſcens, Ficoidis folio et facie.
Sideroxilum africanum, Ceraſi folio.

1 Siſyrinchium

1 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum majus, anguſti folium, floribus albis.
2 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum majus, latifolium, floribus albis, hexapetalis lineis purpureis ſtriatis.
3 Siſyrinchium æthiopicum ſeu africanum minus, latifolium, flore hexapetalo albo.
4 Siſyrinchium africanum, flore ex phœnicco ſuave rubente.
5 Siſyrinchium africanum, foliis Gladioli parvis et longis, palleſcente flore.
6 Siſyrinchium ramoſum æthiopicum ſeu africanum, foliis plicatis nervoſis et incanis, radice tuberoſa phœnicea.
7 Siſyrinchium majus, flore luteo macula notato.
8 Siſyrinchium minus anguſtifolium, flore minore, variegato.

1 Solanum pomiferum fruteſcens africanum ſpinoſum, nigricans, Boraginis flore, foliis profunde laciniatis.
2 Solanum lignoſum africanum ſemper virens, laurinis foliis.

1 Spartium africanum fruteſcens, Ericæ folio.
2 Spartium africanum fruteſcens, Ruſci folio, caule amplectente.

1 Spiræa africana, foliis cruciatim poſitis.
2 Spiræa africana odorata, floribus plane rubentibus.
3 Spiræa africana odorata, foliis piloſis.

Staphilodendron africanum ſemper virens, foliis ſplendentibus.

1 Tanacetum africanum fruticans, multiflorum, foliis Tanaceti vulgaris decuplo minoribus.
2 Tanacetum africanum arboreſcens, foliis Lavendulæ, multifido folio.

1 Tetragono carpos africana, radice magna oneroſa et carnoſa.
2 Tetragono carpos africana frutican, foliis longis et anguſtis.

1 Thymelæa Linifoliæ ſimilis africana, floribus pallidis, odoratiſſimis.
2 Thymelæa Linifoliæ ſimilis africana, foliis lucidis latioribus et obtuſis.
3 Thymelæa africana, foliis Lini, floribus in capitulum congeſtis.

4 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, anguſtiſſimo breviori.
5 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, anguſtiſſimo longiori.
6 Thymelæa africana, Roris marini folio, floribus longioribus.
7 Thymelæa africana, Sanamundæ facie, Ericæ foliis anguſtiſſimis.
8 Thymelæa africana, Torton-Raire ſimilis, floribus in capitulum congeſtis.
9 Thymelæa africana, foliis Ruſci.
10 Thymelæa africana fruteſcens, Jaſmini flore, foliis Polygalæ.
11 Thymelæa africana anguſtifolia, Jaſmini flore.
1 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, ſimplici ſquammato caule.
2 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, caule ſquammato, Clamænerii folio.
3 Tithymalus arboreus africanus.
4 Tithymalus arboreus æthiopicus ſeu afriçanus, Mezerei germanici folio, flore pallido.
5 Tithymalus aizoides africanus, validiſſimis ex tuberculorum internodiis provenientibus.
1 Trifolium africanum fruticans, flore purpuraſcente.
2 Trifolium africanum fruticans, folio anguſtiore, flore rubicante.
3 Trifolium africanum fruticans, foliis incanis, flore luteo.
Tulipifera arbor africana.
1 Valeriana africana fruticans, foliis longis et anguſtiſſimis.
2 Valeriana africana, foliis anguſtis, flore macula rubicante notato.
3 Valeriana africana fruticans, foliis Ericæ.
1 Vitis idæa æthiopica ſeu africana, Myrthi Tarentini folio, flore atro purpureo.
2 Vitis idæa æthiopica ſeu africana, Buxi minoris folio, floribus albidis.

The preceding are all natives of, and, in general, peculiar to, Africa; then follow thirty-ſix different ſorts of fig-trees, all called Hottentot figs, viz.

1 Ficoides africana, folio Plantaginis undulato, micis argenteis aſperſo.

2 Ficoides

2 Ficoides africana acaulos, latiſſimis craſſis et lucidis foliis conjugatis, flore aureo ampliſſimo.
3 Ficoides africana erecta, Ocimaſtri folio, micis argenteis aſperſo, flore roſeo magno.
4 Ficoides africana erecta ramoſa, Tripolii folio, flore aureo magno.
5 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio anguſtiori.
6 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana minor, multicaulis, flore intus rubente, extus incarnato.
7 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi dilute virenti, flore aureo, brevi pediculo inſidente.
8 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi obſcure virenti, flore longo pediculo inſidente.
9 Ficoides africana, folio enſiformi varie inciſo, aureo flore pediculo inſidente.
10 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana procumbens, folio triangulari enſiformi.
11 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulari folio longiſſimo, fructu multu capſulari, flore luteo, major.
12 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, triangulari folio longiſſimo, fructu multu capſulari, flore luteo, minor.
13 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore aureo.
14 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore purpureo.
15 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari longiſſimo, flore carneo.
16 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana major, procumbens, triangulari folio, fructu maximo eduli.
17 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulari incurvo, purpureo caule.
18 Ficoides africana, folio longo triangulari recurvo, floribus umbellatis obſoleti coloris, externe purpureis.
19 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari recurvo, flore flaveſcente.
20 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari lanceato.
21 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari incurvo et dentato.
22 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari, obtuſo, in gemmos aculeos abeunte, flore aureo.

23 Ficoides

23 Ficoides africana, folio triangulari, apice rubro, caule purpuraſcente.
24 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana minor erecta, triangulari folio viridi, flore intus aureo, foris purpureo.
25 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana minor erecta, folio triangulari glauco, flore luteo.
26 Ficoides africana ſrutescens, perfoliata, folio triangulari glauco, punctate cortice lignoſo, tenui, candido.
27 Ficoides africana erecta, folio triangulari glauco, punctis obſcurioribus notato.
28 Ficoides africana humilis, folio triangulari glauco, bullato, flore luteo.
29 Ficoides africana humilis, folio triangulari glauco, dorſo aculeato, flore luteo.
30 Ficoides africana erecta, folio triangulari glauco et brevi, flore carneo.
31 Ficoides africana humifuſa, folio triangulari longiori, glauco flore flaveſcente.
32 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore purpureo.
33 Ficoides ſeu Ficus aizoides africana, folio tereti, procumbens, flore coccineo.
34 Ficoides africana, folio tereti, in villos radiatos abeunte.
35 Ficus africana, oculeis longiſſimis et foliatis, naſcentibus exfoliorum alis.
36 Ficoides africana repens, et læte virens, flore purpureo.

Next, numerous exotics, which have been introduced into the country from Europe, Aſia, and America, viz.

Abies.
Acacia americana, foliis coluteæ Scorpioides leguminoſæ, ſiliquis echinatis.
Acetoſa hortenſis.
Allium ſativum, et hortenſe.
Alnis rotundifolia, et glutinoſa, viridis.
Aloe americana ſobolifera.
Althea indica, ſeu Roſa ſinenſis.
Amygdalus.
Ananas, ſive Carduus braſilianus, foliis Aloes.
Apium hortenſe, ſeu Petroſelinum vulgo.
Arundo ſaccharifera.

Aſparagus

Aſparagus ſativa, et hortenſis.
Beta rubra, et alba, radice Rapæ.
Batatas.
Braſſica rubra, et alba, capitata et non capitata, et florigera.
Camphoraria, ſeu arbor camphorifera, ex que camphora officinarum prodit.
Cannabis ſativa, et erratica.
Carduus benedictus, ſive Cnicus ſylveſtris hirſutior.
Caryophyllus.
Caſſia cinnamonea, ſeu Cinnamonum, ſive Canella ceylanica.
Caſtanea ſylveſtris.
Cepa vulgaris.
Cerafus varii generis.
Chærephyllon ſativum.
Cicer ſativum.
Cinaria hortenſis, foliis non aculeatis.
Clematis hederacea indica, foliis ſubrotundis, flore rubente.
Corylus ſativa.
Criſti pavonis.
Cucumis vulgaris.
Cucumis dictus flos paſſionis.
Cucurbita laginaria et rotunda.
Cupreſſus ramis expanſis.
Cyanus ſegetum hortenſis, flore albo, cærulco, etc.
Cytiſus arvenſis.
Datura, ſeu Stramonia indica major fœtida, porro ſpinoſo, oblongo.
Faba leguminoſa.
Ficus communis indica, etc.
Ficoides ſeu Ficus americana, Cerei effigie, ſpinoſa et anguloſa.
Fœniculum vulgare.
Fragaria ferens fragra rubra.
Frumentum indicum ſaraſenicum.
Foela Moegri.
Foela quater horas.
Foela Aros branco.
Gramen vulgare, item bulboſum et ſparteum hollandicum.
Groſſularia multiplici acino, ſive non ſpinoſa, hortenſis, rubra et albat.

Guajana

Guajana alba dulcis, ſive Gujava promifera indica.
Hordeum vernum et hybernum.
Hyacinthus albus, ex hollandia ablatus.
Intybus ſativa, latifolia et criſpa.
Juniperus vulgaris, baccis parvis.
Katsjapiring.
Kajoe amaas.
Lactuca vulgaris capitata, et non capitata.
Leucoium album, purpureum, flavum.
Lilium, ſon Corona imperialis.
Majorana vulgaris.
Malus domeſtica, variæ denominationes ejus.
Malus cydonia, fructu oblongo et leviori.
Malus citria.
Malus limonia acida et dulcis.
Malus arantia indica, fructu omnium maximo, pompelmoes dicto, medulla partim palleſcente, partim rubeſcente.
Malus arantia luſitanica, ſeu pomum ſinenſe.
Malus punica, ſive Granata.
Malum ſyriacum ſeu creticum.
Meliſſa hortenſis, odore citri.
Meló hiſpanicus.
Mentha hortenſis criſpa.
Meſpilus germanica, folio laurino non ſerrato.
Morus, fructu nigro.
Myrthus communis italica, et latifolia romana.
Napus ſativa.
Narciſſus albus, magno odorato flore.
Naſturtium indicum, flore luteo dilutiore.
Nux juglans, ſeu Regia vulgaris.
Ocyum latifolium maculatum vel criſpum.
Olea ſativa.
Pæonia, flore pleno rubro minore.
Palma dactylifera, Dactylus vulgo.
Papaver hortenſe.
Paſtinaca ſativa, radice alba.
Pepo indicus reticulatus, ſeminibus albis et nigris, major.
Perſica malus vulgaris, fructu molli et albo, item fructu quaſi ſanguineo.
Pinus ſylveſtris.
Piper indicum ſive balecutium, propendentibus ſiliquis, oblongis, recurvis, rubris.

Piſtacia

Piſtacia indica, ſeu perſica, fructu racemoſa.
Prunus.
Pyrus ſativa.
Quercus vulgaris, brevibus pediculis.
Raphanus niger major rotundus, et Raphanus minor oblongus.
Raphanus ruſticanus.
Roſa centifolia, frutice ſpinoſo, rubra, alba, etc.
Roſmarinus hortenſis.
Ruta hortenſis.
Sabina.
Salvia.
Sambucus vulgaris.
Secale hybernum ſive majus.
Spinachia, ſeminе non ſpinoſo, et ſpinoſo.
Tamariſcus fruticoſa.
Targon hortenſis.
Triticum hybernum.
Tulipa.
Vitis vinifera.
Viola martia.

It is added, that all theſe trees, plants, herbs and flowers, were to be found in the garden of the Company.

No. X.

SKETCH of the Life of REINIER DE KLERK, late Governor General for the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, abſtracted from ARY HUYSERS' *Life of R. de Klerk. Amſterdam*, 1788.

"I have made thee a name, like the name of the great men that are on the earth." 1 Chronicles, ch. xvii. ver. 8.

REINIER DE KLERK was born at *Middleburgh*, the capital city of the province of *Zealand*, on the 22d of November, 1710. His parents were honeſt and induſtrious, but humble tradeſpeople, and their ſon was firſt

deſigned for the ſame line of life; but to which not having any inclination, he entered, in his fifteenth year, in the naval ſervice of Holland, and went upon a cruize, on board of one of the frigates, ſent to look out for the homewardbound Eaſt-Indiamen. The year afterwards he went his firſt voyage to India, as a common ſailor, in which ſtation he performed another voyage afterwards; and, in the year 1731, he went out, for the laſt time, as third mate, and never again returned to Holland.

At *Batavia*, he was ſpeedily promoted to the rank of firſt lieutenant, and to the command of a country-veſſel, in which he went ſeven voyages to *Padang*, on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*. On that coaſt, he was frequently employed to command the troops and veſſels, which were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the kings of *Baros* and *Sorkam*, two allies of the Company, who were ſubject to continual vexation and oppreſſion from the king of *Acheen*, and in theſe expeditions he conducted himſelf with ſuch bravery and conduct, as to acquire the title of *the brave hero*, in the letters and congratulations of the Indian princes. But he was frequently afflicted with illneſs, chiefly paralytical, from the great unhealthineſs of *Baros*, *Sorkan*, and the ſurrounding country.

His meritorious ſervices did not fail to be reported to the government at *Batavia*, and laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. At this period of his life an anecdote is related of him, which ſhews his early ambition and perſeverance in aſpiring to the higheſt dignity in India. The comptroller of equipment, at *Padang*, was ſaying jocularly to him, "DE KLERK, you will certainly "be one day commandant of *Batavia*," (or chief of the military there, an office of great truſt and importance), not conceiving that even this elevation was within the compaſs of a hope; upon which our hero replied, "'Tis "not that I want, but I am ſeeking for the door to the "governor generalſhip."

In the year 1737, he left the ſea ſervice, and was made junior merchant, and chief of *Lampong Toulang Bauwang*. The motives that induced the then governor general, VALKENIER, to ſend him to this place, were, that DE KLERK being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Sumatra*, would be the fitteſt perſon to adjuſt ſome diſputes that had ariſen between the kings of *Bantam* and *Palembang*, about their reſpective boundaries. The man-

ner

ber in which he ſettled them deſerves being recorded. He went up the river of *Lampong*, which is very broad, and runs far inland, in an armed veſſel, as far as *Manguala*, a village ſo called by the inhabitants. Here lay the fleets of both nations, and he moored his veſſel between them; and endeavoured, as umpire, to ſettle their differences, but in vain: he remained fourteen months in this ſituation; and, at the end of that time, he was allowed to build a houſe of bamboos, upon the ſhore, for the accommodation of himſelf and his followers. He ſoon availed of this circumſtance, to bring matters to a concluſion; and by cannon, the preſent *ratio ultima regum*, he made the contending parties ſoon agree. He ſecretly got, one night, from on board his veſſel four pieces of artillery, which he placed at each angle of his houſe, behind a breaſtwork of bamboos. At daybreak, hoiſting the Dutch flag, he fired a ſalute from theſe guns. The aſtoniſhment of both parties, who were very jealous of the Company's gaining a footing there, and who had, therefore, waited ſo long before they would allow him to ſleep on ſhore, may eaſily be conceived. But DE KLERK, who knew their diſpoſition, and, that once intimidated, they would be humble and conceding, ſent word, by the meſſengers that came to him from both kings to know the reaſon of this hoſtile appearance, that he was determined to enforce a ſpeedy adjuſtment; and, as he could not anſwer to his employers to be longer detained by their frivolous conduct, he hoped they would ſpeedily agree, without a more ſerious interference on his part; the diſputes reſpecting the boundaries were ſoon ſettled to mutual ſatisfaction; and the limits then laid down between the two empires, continue ſtill the ſame. DE KLERK afterwards built a fort, on the ſame ſpot where his bamboo houſe had been erected; he named it *Valkenoog* (Hawkſeye), in alluſion to the name of the governor general; and the Company have ever ſince remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it.

Returning, in the year 1741, to *Batavia*, he found the country ſtill in commotion, the conſequence of the revolt of the Chineſe, and which had, in the preceding year, brought on the dreadful event related in volume i. page 263. The deſperate Chineſe ſtill continued their ravages even in the neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and a great number of them yet maintained themſelves at *Bacaſſie*. A body

of troops were ſent againſt them, with whom the junior merchant, DE KLERK, went as ſecretary. The expedition ſucceeded in no farther than in driving the rebels higher up the country; and the war was transferred to the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*. Thither DE KLERK followed the operations of war, in the ſame year, 1741; and he ingratiated himſelf exceedingly with the two commiſſaries appointed to attend to the proſecution of it; eſpecially with the firſt of them, Mr. VERYSSEL, partly from that gentleman having been commandant of the admiralty-wharf at *Batavia* while DE KLERK was in the ſea-ſervice, and who was, conſequently, acquainted with his meritorious conduct, and partly on account of his knowledge in the affairs of the natives, and his enterpriſing ſpirit; of which an inſtance occurred ſhortly afterwards, which procured him great reputation. Commiſſary VERYSSEL entertained ſecret views of making himſelf maſter of the perſon of the general who commanded the auxiliary army of the emperor of *Java*, deſtined to act in concert with the Company againſt the Javaneſe and Chineſe inſurgents, but who did more harm than good to the Dutch. He gave the powder and ſhot that were furniſhed to him by the Company, to the enemy; and when his troops, and thoſe of the Company, were conjointly engaged, it plainly appeared that they fired in the air. This conduct had been reported at the court of the ſoeſoehoenam, and the emperor had long known the evil diſpoſition of his general; he, accordingly, wanted much to be rid of him; but he had not the courage to make the attempt himſelf, and committed this dangerous buſineſs to the execution of Commiſſary VERYSSEL, who was equally at a loſs how to attempt it. It happened, however, that this general, who was a prince of the blood, and couſin to the emperor, came and encamped with his large army, computed to amount to one hundred thouſand men, near *Samarang*. This opportunity was not to be neglected; but the commiſſary was at a loſs upon whom to fix to begin the dangerous experiment of enticing the imperial general, who was as little inclined to the Dutch, as he was ambitious of ſitting on the throne of his relation, into the power of the Company. He conſulted DE KLERK on the ſubject; "I "know of no one able to fulfil your intentions," was the anſwer; "but if I may be made uſe of, my life, at leaſt,

"is

" is devoted to the ſervice of the Company." He accordingly ſet out, accompanied by ſome native ſervants, carrying the preſents, which conſiſted of two cheſts of opium, velvets, fine cloths, &c. Upon reaching the tent of the Javaneſe commander, DE KLERK, in a ſoothing and complimentary ſpeech, endeavoured to perſuade the general to pay a viſit to the commiſſary at *Samarang*, offering himſelf and his attendants as hoſtages, to remain in the camp; to this, after ſome heſitation, the general agreed; and, going to *Samarang*, he was received with great ceremony and pomp, and with every mark of honour and friendſhip, without perceiving any reaſon for ſuſpicion or ſigns of reſerve in any of the members of the Dutch government. On his return in the evening, DE KLERK was liberated, and ſent back with counter-preſents to the commiſſary. By this means the general was lulled into a fatal ſecurity, and he was ſoon induced to pay a viſit to the commiſſary at *Samarang* without taking any precautions for his ſafety. This time, however, he had no ſooner entered the fort, than he was told that he was a priſoner, and he was immediately put on board a ſhip, and ſent to *Batavia*, whence he was exiled to *Ceylon*, where he died.

The fortitude and addreſs which DE KLERK had manifeſted on this occaſion, gained him great reputation; and he was ſent to command at *Sourabaya*, the eaſternmoſt poſſeſſion of the Company in *Java*, which was, at that juncture, a poſt of truſt and importance. The prince of *Madura*, who pretended to be a friend of the Company, had nearly gained poſſeſſion of the whole of the dominions of the emperor, and it became neceſſary to ſtop him in his career of aggrandizement. DE KLERK was, therefore, directed to deliver a letter from the commiſſary to the prince, and to deſire of him to reſtore to the emperor his capital city of *Cartaſoura*, which he had taken poſſeſſion of. The prince made, at firſt, many objections; but, upon the ſtrong remonſtrances of DE KLERK, he, at laſt, promiſed to ſatisfy the Company in this reſpect. His ambitious deſigns, however, extending to the maſtery of the whole eaſtern part of *Java*, as far as *Balambouang*, it became his intereſt to ſecure, if poſſible, the favour of the chief of *Sourabaya*, and he attempted to accompliſh this purpoſe by the powerful aid of money. But he found himſelf greatly deceived in this reſpect, and his ambitious

deſigns continued to be thwarted and fruſtrated by the faithful DE KLERK. It is uſual with many of the Indian princes, that, when they have conceived any diſpleaſure againſt the chiefs, or reſidents, of the Company, with whom they have to deal, they prefer complaints againſt him to the ſupreme government at *Batavia*, requeſting that he may be removed, and ſome other appointed in his ſtead; and, for the ſake of peace and policy, it is ſometimes requiſite to comply with ſuch requeſts, although the perſon in queſtion, be wholly blameleſs. This was the caſe with DE KLERK; he was ordered, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1743, back to *Batavia*, moſt probably at the inſtance of the prince of *Madura*, for no maladminiſtration could be laid to his charge. He, however, ſo clearly and wholly vindicated himſelf to Governor VAN IMHOFF, who was juſt come from Holland, that he was ſhortly afterwards ſent back in a higher office.

As there ſtill remained many matters to adjuſt with the Javaneſe princes, Mr. VERYSSEL was again ſent as commiſſary in behalf of the Company, in order to direct and ſettle affairs in an amicable manner; the Chineſe, too, ſtill diſturbed the country, in diſtant corners; which, with other things, were the objects detailed in an elaborate, but clear, memorial, which was given to the commiſſary. He left *Batavia* in the month of Auguſt, 1744, taking with him his friend DE KLERK, who was appointed to the office of firſt adminiſtrator at *Samarang*; a ſtation which gave him opportunities of ingratiating himſelf ſtill more with his patrons and employers.

It being the object of Governor VAN IMHOFF to introduce the farming of the territorial revenues in all the reſidencies along the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*, he made choice of Mr. E. STERRENBURG to be commandant of that government at *Samarang*, being a perſon of great ability, in whom he conceived that he could with ſafety confide, for his aid towards the execution of the above favourite plan. This gentleman appeared to give great ſatisfaction during the firſt two years of his adminiſtration; but when he began to complain in ſtrong terms, by letters and reſolutions, of the conduct of the farmers of the revenues, and thereby departed from the views of the introducer of them, the great attachment of the governor towards STERRENBURG was ſoon changed into the bittereſt enmity.

VAN

VAN IMHOFF, unable to bear to have his deſigns thus thwarted, reſolved to go in perſon to the coaſt, in order to ſettle all diſputes, as well as the queſtion of the farms, to his own liking.

He went thither in March, 1746; and STERRENBURG ſoon felt the weight of his diſpleaſure. But DE KLERK was loaded with careſſes and friendſhip. This naturally produced a jealous miſunderſtanding between STERRENBURG and his ſubordinate adminiſtrator DE KLERK; and after the departure of VAN IMHOFF, the hatred, thus excited, was openly manifeſted, by every ſpecies of ill uſage which the ſituation of STERRENBURG enabled him to put in practice towards DE KLERK. The former, however, was ſtill left in the government, as VAN IMHOFF flattered himſelf that he would alter, and blindly fulfil the deſires of his excellency, to puſh the meaſure of farming the revenues, whatever it might coſt; but in this expectation he was much deceived. STERRENBURG continually remonſtrated againſt the iniquitous extortions of the farmers, and was the vehicle of the complaints and repreſentations of the wretched Javaneſe, on the ſubject of the tyranny under which they laboured.

The conſequence of this was, that an entire change took place in the adminiſtration of the northeaſt coaſt of *Java*, in March, 1747. STERRENBURG was diſmiſſed from his office with every mark of diſgrace, and commanded to come to *Batavia*, to anſwer to the charge of diſobedience and obſtinacy, in contravening the orders of the ſupreme Indian government. On the other hand, DE KLERK was, on the ſame day, promoted to the rank of ſecond in that government, by which he might have hopes of ſoon commanding in chief over that rich and favoured country; but he was not long afterwards called to fill another ſtation, in which his generous and noble character was fully diſplayed.

STERRENBURG was thrown in chains at *Batavia*, and although the direction at home, informed of theſe matters, and wanting to bring theſe differences to a termination, ſent out an order appointing him extraordinary counſellor of India, which was received at *Batavia* while he was under the moſt rigorous confinement, yet the governor and council came to a reſolution not to acknowledge this appointment, but ſent the unfortunate victim of the hatred of the governor, in compliance with a ſentence

pronounced upon him by the municipal government, in exile, for five-and-twenty years, to Fort *Revenge*, upon the iſland of *Pulo-ay*, in the province of *Banda*.

VAN IMHOFF, not contented with this deep humiliation of a man for whom he had before cheriſhed the warmeſt attachment, contrived another means by which he hoped to render his life ſtill more a burthen to him. He knew that DE KLERK, when adminiſtrator at *Samarang*, had ſuffered much indignity and vexation at the hands of his enemy, and that he, therefore, could not well fail of cheriſhing an utter hatred for him. DE KLERK was, therefore, appointed governor of *Banda*, on the 30th of December, 1748, and no other expectations were formed than that he would ſoon ſhorten the days of his adverſary by the ill uſage which he would now have it in his power to retort upon him. STERRENBURG could ſcarcely entertain any other opinion; and expected the arrival of the new governor with diſmay and dread. But never were expectations more deceived. DE KLERK, on his arrival at *Banda*, and when he was entering the harbour of *Neira*, received a letter from his exiled enemy, couched in the following terms:

"SIR,

"I congratulate you on your arrival in this province. "I cordially wiſh and pray that the country may flouriſh "under your adminiſtration. In the mean time I beg "leave to call to your remembrance the well-known "ſaying of Solon; and I remain, with perfect reſpect,

"Your moſt obedient ſervant,

"E. STERRENBURG."

The anſwer of DE KLERK was equally in a laconic ſtyle, and in theſe words:

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to you for the friendly congratu- "lations contained in your letter of yeſterday. It is not "my cuſtom to attack a defenceleſs enemy, and you may "depend that I ſhall make it a point, to render your re- "ſidence in this province as comfortable as poſſible. I "ſend you herewith, by proviſion, a caſe of wine, two "cheeſe, and a barrel of butter; alſo the lateſt newſ- "papers from Holland. Whenever you are in want of "any thing, write freely to

"Your humble ſervant,

"R. DE KLERK."

No

No idea can be formed of the effect which this, and many ſucceeding marks of friendſhip, had upon the heart, and upon the health and ſpirits, of the baniſhed STERRENBURG. His place of exile became an abode of comfort and pleaſure as long as DE KLERK was in the government; and he lived for many years after the death of his enemy, VAN IMHOFF, in liberty and eaſe. The ſentence paſſed upon him by the municipal government was reverſed, and he was declared innocent by the council of juſtice, before whom he ſolicited a reviſion of the affair.

Governor DE KLERK arrived in *Banda* in good time. He found there a great ſcarcity of rice, which was very diſtreſſing to the poor inhabitants. But he ſoon diſcovered that it was occaſioned by the rapacity of two or three monopoliſts, who had large quantities of rice on hand, and ſold it to the neceſſitous at an exorbitant rate. He ſoon conſtrained them to ſell their grain at the uſual price; he thereby naturally became endeared to the people; and he left no means untried to render the province flouriſhing and profitable. He paid particular attention to the *parkeniers*, the proprietors, or leſſees, of the nutmeg-plantations, and larger quantities of nutmegs and mace were collected during his adminiſtration than in former times. In ſhort, he did much good to *Banda*, though at the expence of his own pocket, and he left it in the year 1753, amidſt the bleſſings and regret of the inhabitants.

Returning to *Batavia*, he married, on the 1ſt of May, 1754, Mrs. VERYSSEL, the widow of his late friend, the commiſſary, and he lived with her for the ſpace of ſix-and-twenty years at *Batavia*, which is a very rare circumſtance at that place, where Europeans very ſeldom live to celebrate their ſilver, and, almoſt never, their golden, weddingdays*.

* It is a cuſtom among the married Dutch, when they live together ſo long, to celebrate with great rejoicings, and with as much pomp and circumſtance, as the ſituation of the parties will allow, the twenty-fifth, and fiftieth, anniverſaries of their marriage; on which occaſion all their friends and relatives who were living at the time of their union, and who can be aſſembled, are in particular invited; and theſe jubilees are called, the former the ſilver, and the latter the golden, weddingday; at the firſt, the married pair are crowned with a ſilver crown, all the utenſils and ornaments uſed are of ſilver, or ſilver-gilt, and a profuſion of ſilver-paper, and ſilver-tinſel, is employed in decorations; while, at the other, a golden crown is made uſe of, and every thing glitters, in the ſame manner, with gold.

The

The direction at home, well informed of his honourable conduct in *Banda*, ordered him a pecuniary recompence for his zeal and diligence in the collection of nutmegs and mace, and indemnified him thereby for the expences he had himself incurred, in the discharge of that duty. Such a disinterested administration is not frequently to be observed in India, and *Banda* may be said never to have been more flourishing under any former, or succeeding, governor.

On the 30th of May, 1755, Mr. De Klerk took his seat in the council of India, upon being appointed extraordinary counsellor. This assembly has the absolute controul over all the factories of the East-India Company, *China* and the *Cape of Good Hope* excepted; and it is an ancient custom that the correspondence with the several settlements is divided among the members. The least troublesome department was not allotted to De Klerk. He was entrusted with the correspondence of *Ceylon*, the most important establishment of the Company in the west of India; and he managed this difficult business, together with several other weighty offices, for more than twenty years.

Shortly after his elevation to this dignity, the government at *Batavia* received orders from home to form a general plan of economy and reform in the affairs of the Company, in all their Indian possessions, which were then already perceived to be in a very prejudicial situation. A portion of this labour was committed to each member of the council, and De Klerk received *Banda* for his share, and gave in an ample and elaborate memorial respecting that important province, in the year 1756, under the title of *Radical Account of Banda*; it was sent to Holland, and obtained the special approbation of the direction at home, and they particularly expressed their satisfaction with it, and their desire that the arrangements proposed in it should be put in practice, by their general letter of the 10th of October, 1758.

De Klerk also, at one time, had the superintendence of the hospitals; but in the amelioration of these establishments, so as to reduce the great mortality which prevailed, and still prevails, in those receptacles of human misery, he had no better success than any of his predecessors, or successors; the cause, however, seems to be

above

above the art or wiſdom of man, and to originate in the unexampled inſalubrity of the ſpot.

In the mean time, he continued to keep the Ceylon correſpondence with zeal and activity. An expenſive war between the Company and the king of *Candia*, gave the council of India, and eſpecially the ſubject of theſe memoirs, much occupation: upon this occaſion he uttered his ſentiments without reſtraint, and gave very free advice in the council, ſuch as was repugnant to the opinion of the then governor general, VAN DER PARRA, who was, therefore, wiſhful to get rid of him. The governor general propoſed to the council, that as, by the reſignation of Governor SCHREUDER, *Ceylon* ſtood much in need of another able and vigilant head to ſupply his place, DE KLERK ſhould be appointed to that government. He, however, excuſed himſelf, upon the ground of his ignorance of the language, and his want of local knowledge; and, likewiſe, that the fatigue of ſuch an appointment would be too great for him, who had already ſerved the Company for the ſpace of five-and-thirty years, out of which full twenty had been ſpent in climates the moſt noxious to his conſtitution. That government was accordingly given to his friend, Baron VAN ECK, who ſpeedily terminated the war of *Ceylon*, by the taking of *Candia*, the capital city of the king.

On the 28th of December, 1775, died the governor general, PETER ALBERT VAN DER PARRA, after an adminiſtration of fifteen years; and, by his death, Mr. JEREMIAH VAN RIEMSDYK, of *Utrecht*, who had, for eleven years, filled the important office of director-general, ſucceeded to the ſupreme management of affairs in India; at the ſame time, DE KLERK became director general, after he had ſat for twenty years in the council of India, without any promotion, which is equally a rare thing, in this unhealthy place.

His conduct in this office, as in all the others which he had borne, was both meritorious and diſintereſted. The goal which he had ſo long propoſed to himſelf, as the termination of his ardent purſuit, was now within his view; and it was not long before he received the reward of his long ſervices, and attained the ultimate object of his wiſhes, of his hopes, and of his ambition. Governor VAN RIEMSDYK died on the 3d of October, 1777; and DE KLERK was appointed, the day afterwards, to the high

dignity

dignity of governor general of the poſſeſſions and eſtabliſhments of the Eaſt India Company, of the Netherlands, in India. Behold here, a man raiſed, by merit and conduct, from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation! He ſerved his employers, for fifty years before his final elevation, with integrity and ſucceſs, and had filled many and important offices with fidelity and honour. He was ſixty-ſeven years of age when he became governor general, yet, at that time, and for a year and a half afterwards, he enjoyed his powers of mind, his health, and ſtrength of body, unimpaired; but his advanced age made him frequently ſay, "It is muſtard after meat."

Notwithſtanding the ſhortneſs of his adminiſtration, he effected ſeveral things, memorable in themſelves, and beneficial to the Company. He brought to a concluſion the war of *Macaſſar*, which had been begun under the adminiſtration of his immediate predeceſſor, by the reduction of *Goach*. He procured, from the king of *Bantam*, the ceſſion, to the Company, of the provinces of *Landak* and *Sucradana*, in *Borneo*, where he eſtabliſhed a reſidency, and built a fort, called *Puntiana*, whence they now receive diamonds, wax, and ſago. He quelled the refractory ſpirit of the inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, by ſeizing upon the kings of *Tidore* and *Bachian*, whom he kept as ſtate priſoners at *Batavia*, ſending the hereditary prince of *Tidore* in exile to *Ceylon*, while the government of thoſe iſlands was placed upon the ſame footing as that of *Ternate*, and they were rendered wholly dependent upon, and feudatory to, the Company.

He eſtabliſhed likewiſe, in April, 1778, the firſt literary ſociety of *Batavia*, of which he was the preſident; and he paid particular attention to matters of religion, encouraging the eſtabliſhment of ſchools, and endeavouring to engage clergymen of abilities and learning to come to the Indies.

He beſtowed a ſignal favour upon the Jaccatra chiefs or native regents, by allowing them to liquidate, by degrees, and in the produce of the country, a large ſum of money which they owed to the commiſſary of inland affairs; as likewiſe, by appointing two members of the government to watch over the intereſts of thoſe regents, and to take care that they did not ſuffer any oppreſſion at the hands of the commiſſary, or of any one elſe.

At the ſame time, he alſo caſt his thoughts upon a large extent

extent of uncultivated and defert tracts of land, fituated in the interior parts of *Jaccatra*, and belonging to the Company: he cauſed them to be ſold, or diſtributed among the Javaneſe, by valuation, whereby he not only procured a pecuniary advantage to the Company, but likewiſe contributed not a little to the promotion of agriculture.

He was not, however, without his faults; and could not, in ſome inſtances, bear much contradiction or oppoſition. Notwithſtanding his great love of juſtice and equity, he was one time hurried into an unjuſtifiable exceſs againſt the council of juſtice; the preſident, and five members of this body, were removed from their ſeats by him, on the 9th of October, 1778, becauſe they refuſed to give up ſome original papers, relative to proceedings that had been inſtituted before them, and which they conſidered as ſacred, and included within their oath of ſecrecy. The direction in Holland too diſapproved hereof, and ordered thoſe gentlemen to be reinſtated in their offices, and that they ſhould receive their ſalaries from the time they had been depoſed.

Governor DE KLERK was, otherwiſe, a man affable in his manners, unaſſuming in his conduct, and inimical to all external pomp and oſtentation. Immediately after his appointment, he intimated to the members of the council, that it was both improper and indecent, that either they ſhould ſtop their carriages, when they chanced to meet with his, or that they, or any one elſe, ſhould ſtand up in the churches, after the ſervice had commenced, upon his coming in; both which regulations had formerly been always enforced by the governors general, and they were accordingly now aboliſhed.

He, moreover, introduced the regulation, that, thenceforward, no viſits of ceremony ſhould be received, upon the acceſſion of a governor general, from the Javaneſe regents and princes of the northeaſt coaſt, but that the homage, uſually paid by them on ſuch occaſions, ſhould be received by the governor of *Samarang*. Beſides his diſinclination for pomp and ceremony, he had motives of policy for this meaſure: *Batavia* was, at that time, very thinly inhabited, and weakly garriſoned, and the Javaneſe princes were accuſtomed to bring with them, on ſuch occaſions, a numerous retinue of their countrymen, from whoſe treacherous diſpoſition danger might be apprehended

hended to the city, on their perceiving the weakneſs of its means of defence.

It was not till one-and-twenty months poſterior to his acceſſion, and after he had received the confirmation of his nomination from his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange, as upper director of the Eaſt-India Company, who wrote him a letter, in his own hand, congratulating him on his appointment, teſtifying his eſteem, and recommending him, in particular, to keep up the fortifications and naval force of the Dutch in India, that Governor DE KLERK would allow of his being publicly inſtalled in that character, which was done with the uſual ceremonies, on the 10th of July, 1779.

From this time, however, his excellency, bending under the weight of age, began to decline, both in bodily health and in mental exertion. Although he naturally wiſhed for repoſe after his long and active labours, his love of fame ſtill made him ſay, that "a governor general ſhould die with a ſword in one hand, and a pen in the other." In the month of Auguſt, 1779, he went to his country ſeat, called *Grogol*, ſituated about two Dutch miles ſoutheaſt of *Batavia*, to fetch, as he expreſſed himſelf, ſome good health: in the firſt days of his ſtay there, he ſeemed to be getting better, but he experienced an unexpected attack of illneſs, that was ſuppoſed would have been fatal to him; but he recovered a little by degrees, and then returned to his uſual reſidence at the *Molenvliet*. This attack had, however, ſo ſubdued him, that he could not be preſent at the council table, nor attend to the other duties of his office with any degree of accuracy. This debility made him apply to the council of India, on the 16th of March, 1780, requeſting to be wholly exonerated from the duties of his ſtation, until he ſhould recover his former faculties and memory, or till the direction at home ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of the government. Mr. ALTING, the then director general, a man of great powers of mind, and well verſed in the affairs of the government and commerce of the Indies, was accordingly appointed to fulfil the duties of governor general; and he readily took upon himſelf this heavy burthen, in addition to his other extenſive and troubleſome employment.

DE KLERK now began to decline from day to day; he at length entirely loſt all powers of memory, and he died on the firſt of September, 1780, at the advanced age of almoſt

almoſt ſeventy years. His body was carried, according to cuſtom, to the caſtle, whence it was conveyed, on the 4th of that month, with the funeral pomp due to his rank, to the place of interment, the Dutch church, at *Batavia*, where he was buried, next to his late friend and early patron and protector, VERYSSEL.

FINIS.

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